

FOCUS
MIDWEST

63

REFLECTIONS OF
A RADIO PRIEST

Bernard Eisman

ECONOMICS
OF PEACE

Berndt L. Kolker

Retail Business
And
The Blue Laws

Leland I. Howell

ALSO:

THE YELLIN CASE/Irving Dilliard
MENTAL HEALTH/George A. Ulett
BRUSH ARBOR MEETING'S/Herb Rice
POEMS/S. K. Oberbeck and Robert Bly
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THE ARTS
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FOR THE CONSUMER

OUT OF FOCUS

(Readers are invited to submit items for publication, indicating whether the sender can be identified. Items must be fully documented and not require any comment.)

The Uniform Act for Voting by New Residents in Presidential elections will eliminate disenfranchisement in Presidential elections of a large number of voters who move from one state to another and who through no fault of their own are not qualified to vote in their new state of residence. Only eight states, including Missouri, have made any effort to deal with the problem of disenfranchisement of migratory voters. In support of its advocacy that the Act be adopted by all states the Center for Information on America and the American Heritage Foundation cite these figures:

AMERICANS OF VOTING AGE UNABLE TO VOTE IN THE NOVEMBER 1960 ELECTIONS

Total civilian population of voting age	107,000,000
Aliens of voting age	3,000,000
Citizens of voting age	104,000,000

* * * * *

ESTIMATE OF CITIZENS OF VOTING AGE UNABLE TO VOTE

1. Mobile adults unable to meet state, county or precinct residence requirements	8,000,000
2. Adults kept from polls by illness at homes, hospitals, nursing homes, homes for aged, etc.	5,000,000
3. Adults traveling for business, health, vacation and other reasons, unable to obtain absentee ballots.	2,600,000
4. Adult Negroes in 11 Southern States kept from polls by rigged literacy tests, poll taxes, various social pressures, etc.	1,750,000*
5. Adult illiterates in 25 literacy test states	800,000
6. Citizens of voting age in District of Columbia	500,000
7. U. S. citizens living abroad	500,000
8. Adult prison population	215,000**
9. Adult preachers of Jehovah Witnesses who face a religious disability to voting	225,000

TOTAL CITIZENS OF VOTING AGE UNABLE TO VOTE	19,590,000
	104,000,000
	19,590,000

TOTAL CITIZENS ACTUALLY ELIGIBLE TO VOTE IN 1960 ELECTIONS	84,410,000
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Total vote in 1960 Presidential Elections	68,832,818
Percentage of Civilian Voting Population Which Voted	64.3
Percentage of Citizens of Voting Age Who Voted	66.2
Percentage of Actual Eligibles Who Voted	81.5

*NOTE: This is a modest estimate based on the findings of the Civil Rights Commission. The Congressional Quarterly puts poll tax and prejudice disenfranchisement as high as 4,000,000. It is impossible to measure accurately the total number of voters kept from the polls by poll taxes, various social pressures on minority groups and previous conviction of felony.

**NOTE: Most states bar convicts, idiots and the insane; others disenfranchise paupers and vagrants. Mississippi bars tax-exempt Indians. Idaho denies the ballot to naturalized citizens of Mongolian descent. Florida disenfranchises persons interested in an election wager. Rhode Island bars persons living on land ceded to the U. S. Government.

Sources: U. S. Census Bureau; American Heritage Foundation

FOCUS/Midwest, February, 1963, Vol. 2, No. 2, Second class postage paid at St. Louis, Mo. Published monthly by FOCUS/Midwest Publishing Co., P.O. Box 3086, St. Louis 30, Mo. Subscription rates: \$6 one year, \$11 two years, \$15 three years, \$25 five years, \$100 lifetime. Foreign \$1.50 per year extra. Allow one month for address changes. Advertising rates upon request. Enclose stamped, self-addressed envelope with manuscript. Copyright© 1962, by the FOCUS/Midwest Publishing Company, Inc.

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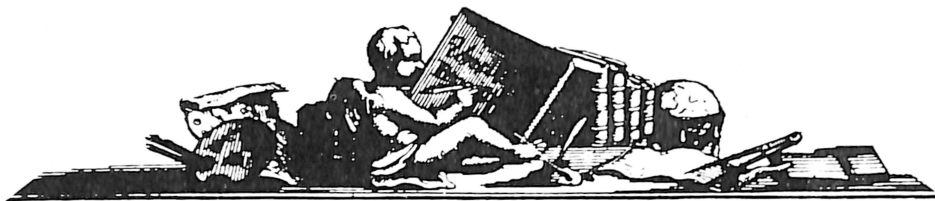
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Letters

"The Illiterates"

F/M: I write in answer to your December editorial, in which you urgently recommend that Mayor Raymond R. Tucker "adopt" the Chicago policy of taking welfare funds away from Aid to Dependent Children unless their mothers enroll in learn to read and write classes.

We agree that low educational status, especially the fact that so many native American adults cannot even read or write because they have never attended school, is something for which all Americans should stand in shame.

But we are not yet ready to adopt such a program of force, at least not until we have exhausted the policy of motivation of people to help lift themselves because they really desire to do so.

We are of the opinion that a higher educational status is only one of several major problems facing our underprivileged families.

For this reason, we think you should take a closer look at our developing concerted services program at the Pruitt-Igoe public housing projects, where federal, state and city governments and private agencies are uniting their efforts to raise the outlook, strengthen family life, and to lift economic, education and social status of the people. Certainly a high priority will be given to illiteracy.

We recommend that you give us an opportunity to first take the high road of encouraging our underprivileged people toward a better life, rather than the low road of compulsion.

Chester E. Stovall,
Director of Welfare
City of St. Louis

EDITOR'S NOTE: We wholeheartedly agree with the sentiments expressed in Mr. Stovall's letter and are of the opinion that it speaks well for St. Louis to have been selected as the first city for the welfare pilot program at the Pruitt-Igoe housing project. Also, we gladly endorse the idea of dropping the compulsory aspect of the Chicago literacy program. (After all, we said "adapt" not

"adopt" this program and by no means meant to recommend penalizing welfare recipients but rather were urging that additional learning opportunities be provided.) However, we cannot agree that the primary problem is motivation. If the thousands in St. Louis were all properly motivated, where could they go and learn? Present funds and facilities are not adequate and, to the best of our knowledge, even the Pruitt-Igoe welfare program includes no literacy classes.

F/M: Just read the fine article "The Illiterates" by Barbara Klearman, (which begins) "There are over eight million adults in America today who cannot read the simple words in this sentence." We probably lead Russia in this too?

Walter C. Meyer
Phoenix, Arizona

"GRIT"

F/M: It is amazing that there has been no word, not one word, of reader or editorial comment about *GRIT*, an "Alternative to War or Surrender," Charles E. Osgood's article in the September 1962 issue (which I somehow have missed till now). This proposal ought to be given the widest possible circulation and discussion for it contains, it seems to me, a very reasonable yet powerful proposal for action toward peace and away from catastrophe. Enclosed is \$2.40 for four copies of the September 1962 issue. I want to be sure that my Senators and Congressman see the article. Thank you very much for this and *FOCUS/Midwest*.

Martin E. Gardner, Jr.
St. Louis, Mo.

"Kansas City Turned Sour"

F/M: In fairness to Kansas City and the City Fathers, you should have an off-setting article on Kansas City. Enjoyed Whyte's article, but it does not tell the whole story. The Citizen's Association (and I was a member) backed a former administration which piled up a large deficit — the real beginning of our financial difficulties. Suggest that Harry M. Davis, or W.

Royster, or Charles Shafer be given an opportunity to reply.

Mr. B. J. George, Sr.
Kansas City, Missouri

F/M: . . . I wish to congratulate you on the caliber of your fine magazine . . . Of particular interest to me was the article by Laurence M. Whyte on the Kansas City political scene. Mr. Whyte writes clearly, intelligently, and authoritatively and, as a subscriber, I would like to hear from him again on this and other subjects.

Mrs. Ellis M. Stafford Jr.
Sedalia, Mo.

Mr. Johnson Replies

F/M: I should like to point out that the *Tribune* quote in my article (Reviewing Chicago's Reviewers, October 1962) had a typographical error. The *Tribune* did not shudderingly compare certain books to a "herd of boys" invited into its readers' living rooms, but rather to a "herd of hogs." Perhaps it was this unfortunate mechanical error that provoked the squeals of outrage from the letter writers.

Supposing it was not, however, may I say I had hoped my article made clear I objected to: (1) the non-review of books which somehow offend the philistine moral code of certain Chicago reviewers, and (2) the hack review of books of safe mediocrity, a type of review (and book) which in my opinion dominates Chicago review sections.

Curtis L. Johnson
Western Springs, Ill.

Golden on Reedy

F/M: . . . you should be proud of the product you have produced. I was interested in the issue (December 1962) with the story about William Marion Reedy. I had just written a piece for the *Saturday Review* about the personal journalists (January 12, 1963 issue) and when I showed the proofs to (Carl) Sandburg he said, "Why didn't you include the best of the lot, Reedy of St. Louis?" . . .

Harry Golden
Charlotte, North Carolina

FOCUS/Midwest

THE circulation of opinion magazines over the past two years has grown about four times as fast as the population. The following magazines (a few of the more well known periodicals), show an increase of over 18 per cent if we average copies sold, or over 24.3 per cent if we average percentage growth. A closer look at these figures, however, reveal some striking differences. Although the smaller magazines have grown, generally the magazines which lead in circulation have kept pace or exceeded population growth.

Magazine	Dec. 1960	Dec. 1961	June 1962	Dec. 1962	% Inc. '60-'62
Atlantic	265,234	281,530	279,928	*	5.5%
Commentary	24,808	25,816	28,873	30,900	2.5%
Harper's	238,148	277,099	291,389	281,617	18.3%
The Nation	24,015	27,252	27,567	*	1.5%
National Review	32,049	48,056	68,023	69,288	116.2%
New Republic	35,931	43,117	41,192	51,884	44.4%
Progressive	26,000	29,000	32,000	32,000	2.3%
Reporter	157,500	161,072	163,182	*	3.5%
Saturday Review	248,179	274,412	298,174	310,000	24.9%
*Figures Not Available					
U. S. Pop.	Over 179 Million		Over 188 Million		4.8%

A notable exception is the conservative *National Review*. While more mature magazines lag behind, it shows a phenomenal increase of 116 per cent. Whatever the reasons — bulk subscriptions through grants or lack of competition within its realm — and while we wish them well, it points to the balancing function which magazines more perceptive than the *National Review* must exercise.

By now the limitations of mass media and the growth of specialized magazines have been exhaustively treated in most magazines — except, and we can forgive them, by the ranking members of the mass media. Theodore Peterson, dean of the College of Journalism and Communications, University of Illinois, elaborated on this development years ago. Then he declared:

"When television reaches as many as fifteen million homes with a single program, when an individual magazine addresses itself to a quarter of the population, their content almost inexorably reflects the tastes, interests, beliefs, and values of the great mass of the public. By playing on the most common of the denominators, they not only leave room for but actually encourage magazines that will address themselves to specialized tastes and interests. For only magazine publishing and book publishing remain communication industries open-ended enough, hospitable enough to the newcomer, to make a minority voice or a specialized voice economically feasible. And the book, important as it is, lacks the continuity of message, so essential to some causes, that the magazine provides. . . .

"Enough people feel disfranchised by the massiest of the mass media to want magazines offering them ideas that they can get nowhere else. Moreover, to get what they

want, I think, readers are willing to pay substantially more than publishers give them credit for being willing to pay. In short, I think that the outlook is reasonably good for magazines which will make no concession in order to please the mass audience. . . .

"While all of this means that minority magazines will continue to have an important job to do and that circumstances in some ways seem to favor them, I do not wish to sound too optimistic. The magazine of ideas will probably never be able to look to a future of bright prosperity. Magazines that scorn the voice of the crowd will always walk a lonely and precarious road. I am afraid, and the more iconoclastic their voice, the lonelier and more precarious will be their journey."



One of the implications of Berndt L. Kolker's article, "The Economics of Peace," emphasises the economic lag which distinguishes the Middle West from much of the rest of the country. It is one of the reasons for the population decline in this area, as described by Irving Dilliard in the December 1962 issue. Whether we view the area from a peace or a war economy, and irrespective of any relaxation of international tensions, it will take a giant effort to enable our region to grow as fast as the rest of the country and provide work for the many thousands of unemployed and underemployed. It is doubtful whether one state in proud isolation can either face up to or solve these problems. A multi-state effort is very much needed.



In this issue we welcome Bernard Eisman, a new contributing editor of *FOCUS/Midwest*. Eisman is the Midwest Correspondent for CBS. His proximity to current events and issues will add a fresh view to *FOCUS/Midwest*.

With this issue we pick up again the coverage of congressional voting. Starting with the March issue, we will also present the individual voting records of state representatives and senators from Illinois and Missouri. Aside from the House and Senate Journals, there are no readily available sources which report the key votes of all state legislators.

This service should be of special interest to teachers and students following state politics, the many groups with an interest in legislation, and the informed citizen at large who will have an opportunity to check on his representative and senator issue by issue.



Irving Dilliard

YELLIN CASE DECISION MAY SHOW NEW SUPREME COURT MAJORITY

THE United States Supreme Court has under consideration, as this is written in mid-January, a case from Illinois that could be of widespread significance when it is decided. This is the "contempt of Congress" case of Edward Yellin, 34-year-old graduate student at the University of Illinois, whose Ph. D thesis combines engineering and physiology.

Yellin's case was first argued in the Supreme Court last April 18 and 19. Subsequently the Court ordered rearguments in the term beginning last October. Presumably this was because illness made it unlikely that now retired Justice Frankfurter would return. In any event, the Court heard the case again last Dec. 6 and is, either still conferring about it or writing a decision.

Before he undertook collegiate and graduate school education, Yellin was an employee in a steel plant in Gary, Ind. After he had become a student at the University of Colorado, he was called before the House Un-American Activities Committee in February, 1958. He declined to testify about Communist activity at the plant on the grounds that inquiries about political beliefs were a violation of First Amendment freedoms.

Subsequently when he became a graduate student at Urbana and received a \$3,800 National Science Foundation fellowship (1961), he said that he had signed the oath pledging that he did not belong to, believe in or support any organization that taught the overthrow of the United States Government by force. He also pointed out that he had signed an oath of allegiance to uphold the Constitution.

Political pressure in Congress on Dr. Alan T. Waterman, director of the National Science Foundation, caused him to reverse his earlier position that fellowships were awarded solely on the basis of scholarly excellence. He revoked the fellowship explaining that a review of the facts in the Yellin case indicated a possibility "that you may not be able

to pursue your studies without interruption during the fellowship tenure, the present fellowship award (having been) made to you for the year 1961-62."

As it happened, Dr. Waterman's concern proved unfounded for the year 1961-62. Without the science fellowship, Ed Yellin, with the help of his loyal wife Jean and some friends, has managed to stay in graduate school at the University of Illinois and to keep a roof over the heads of his children.

Even his stay at the University was jeopardized. Plans were afoot to dismiss Yellin, when this was brought to the attention of former Senator James O. Monroe, Sr., of Collinsville. He rushed to Urbana explaining to David Henry, president of the University, that no final judicial action has been taken and successfully argued that a dismissal would be a violation of presumption of innocence and an infringement upon academic freedom.

Yellin's field is the unusual one of biomedical engineering. His thesis proposal deals with the transition from laminar to turbulent flow of a viscous liquid under the action of a periodic pressure gradient. The expectation is that a solution of this problem will fill a significant gap in understanding of arterial blood flow. He has been assured by several leading physiologists that his dissertation is an important one and he has been much encouraged by research scholars both at the University of Illinois and the Johns Hopkins University in Baltimore.

But what makes the Yellin case significant far beyond its effect on the lives of its principal litigant and the members of his family is the fact that its decision could point the way to an entirely new era for civil liberties on the Supreme Court. The Yellin case just might prove to be an important turning point.

In recent years many Supreme Court decisions in Bill of Rights tests involving individual freedom

have been by the hairline of 5-to-4 against the invoked right. Thus Lloyd Barenblatt, Willard Uphaus, Carl Braden, Frank Wilkinson, George Anastaplo, Raphael Konigsberg, and others who might be named, lost out by the narrowest of margins. Those involved in contempt convictions all went to jail rather than, as they saw it, undermine the Constitution.

In all these cases the split in the Supreme Court was the same. Justices Frankfurter, Clark, Harlan, Whittaker, and Stewart sided against upholding the claimed right of the citizen. Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan were the strong dissenters.

But in less than a year two Supreme Court Justices have retired because of illness and have been succeeded by Kennedy appointees. The two are Felix Frankfurter and Charles Evans Whittaker, replaced respectively by Justices Arthur J. Goldberg and Byron R. White. Up to now there have been no decisions from the Supreme Court with these two new members to indicate which way they will see Bill of Rights issues.

If they look at them as Frankfurter and Whittaker did, the old 5-to-4 division in Bill of Rights cases will remain more or less intact. But if one or both of them joins with the four dissenters, the old majority is gone and a new one is created on the opposite side.

It is only necessary to read a few of the Warren-Black-Douglas-Brennan dissents to know how deeply the four feel about the degrading of the Bill of Rights in these many important cases. All these Justices have been pointing to an eventual day when First Amendment freedoms will be restored to their perferred place in American society.

And so watch for the decision in the case of University of Illinois graduate student Ed Yellin. It could point the way to a brighter day for the Bill of Rights.

Coming Up!

THE FAR RIGHT IN THE MIDDLE WEST

Bernard Eisman

A factual expose you won't forget

THE CHICAGO SYMPHONY

Samuel Allen

Much has been written about the Symphony — but just as much has been left unsaid.

LAST CHANCE FOR THE CURRENT RIVER

Len Hall

OUR BLIND AND TOOTHLESS TRUST LAWS

Elinor Richey

States leave hundreds of millions under the supervision of a part time employee

POLITICAL UNDERCURRENTS IN KANSAS CITY

Howard P. Neighbor

A review and projection, in our continuing coverage of the exciting political developments in K. C.

ST. LOUIS WITHOUT A SYMPHONY CONDUCTOR

Ernst C. Krohn

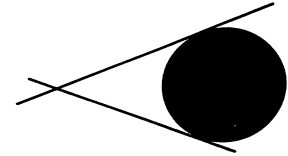
MENTAL HEALTH AND THE LAW

John L. McKnight

Do we wilfully neglect the civil rights of our mental patients?

VOTING RECORDS OF MISSOURI AND ILLINOIS CONGRESSMEN AND STATE LEGISLATORS

February, 1963



ASSOCIATES OF FOCUS/MIDWEST

Dear Reader:

In the January issue we announced the formation of the "Associates." Since then events have moved swiftly. At this writing, 677 gift subscriptions have been recruited. This immediate response is very satisfactory. Of course, it is only a beginning.

Following the formation of the St. Louis Associates, the Chicago supporters met at Diamond Jim's and formed a chapter. Shortly, Kansas Citians will do the same.

We, the Associates, do not want to stand on the sidelines only applauding, we want to join in the action. We want to circulate FOCUS/Midwest for a limited time to 20,000 potential subscribers. This costs \$2.50 per subscription. We are confident that exposure to the magazine will result in a high percentage of renewals.

Here are four reasons why FOCUS/Midwest also deserves your attention. First: it is a carrier of new ideas, an upsetter of old, and an intrepid commentator upon the status quo. It is the only magazine in the Middle West which covers for the Middle West many issues of direct concern to you. Second: FOCUS/Midwest analyses, reports, praises, condemns, and exposes without regard to public attitudes or its popularity. Third: It is for persons with adult minds who are interested in creating a pioneering and progressive society. Fourth: FOCUS/Midwest has kept faith with the above since it started publication. The past issues have demonstrated that the magazine can play a meaningful role in our society.

We are inviting you to join us. Kindly fill out the inserted card and mail it right away. Thank you.

Arno Haack
Co-Chairman
St. Louis

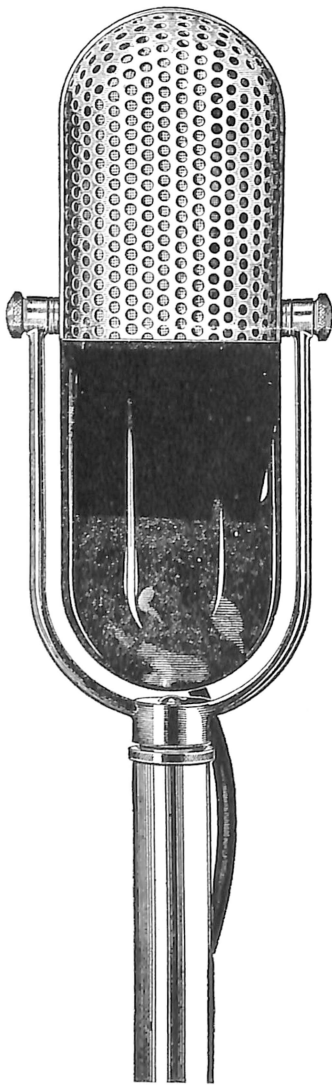
Hugh J. Schwartzberg
Co-Chairman
Chicago

Page Seven



REFLECTIONS OF A RADIO PRIEST

BERNARD EISMAN



THE white-haired priest, cassock skirts flapping, moved with short, quick steps along the snow-spotted pavement that runs parallel to broad Woodward Avenue in the Detroit suburb of Royal Oak. As he turned to enter the church his ruddy face, hardly showing seventy-one years, was brought into sharp relief against the grey stone background of the Shrine of the Little Flower that dominates the corner with a one hundred fifty-foot tower supporting a stone image of Christ on the Cross. The priest is the Reverend Charles Coughlin, a living ghost of the angry Thirties, described in a chronicle of the decade as the master in "the arts of vituperation and demagoguery."

In his study the radio priest of the Thirties, whose vein-straining oratory enraptured hundreds of thousands more than two decades ago, recently talked after keeping silent since 1940. The fire is not gone after the years of public exile; but Coughlin has mellowed, suffering no longer from what he calls the arrogance of youth. Apparently, he has changed with age and he sounds quite different from what he was in the late Thirties when Coughlin, his theories of "Social Justice" and his companions on the fringes of American political sanity fed the fires of anti-Semitism and hatred already smoldering through large segments of the frustrated and frightened middle classes. Coughlin has started invoking his invective against the "modern pagans who have crucified us upon a cross of gold" in 1926 and by 1935 the Jew-baiting in his radio talks and in print was barely disguised.

His following grew along with the flow of nickels, dimes, and dollars that built him and the Shrine of the Little Flower into forces to be reckoned with. In 1940, however, the curtain drew tight. The Post Office Department banned his magazine from the mails for printing Nazi propaganda and the Church finally imposed a censorship that he was unable to break.

The picture of Coughlin, his neck straining, his face reddening as he thrust himself forward from the public platform are etched deeply in the minds of those who remember him well. Now he is heavier, less intense, and more reflective than he was in the days from 1929 to 1940 when he won adoration and hatred in equal portions.

We talked in the richly comfortable lower floor dining room at his Royal Oak rectory, and Coughlin carefully measured his words and his tone.

"Eismann: Your career has been characterized as one of "vituperation and demagoguery." How do you meet this criticism?

"Coughlin: Well, I suppose I committed an egregious error which I am the first to admit when I permitted myself to attack persons. I could never bring myself to philosophize the morality of that now. It was a young man's mistake . . .

"Eismann: What general observations of that period and of what you were trying to accomplish do you have now?

"Coughlin: At times I reconsider many things. First of all, the whole philosophic structure of what I was trying to do was open to correction and improvement. No clergyman has business injecting himself into the practical side of politics . . . I could have done much better had I been more mature in my thinking at the time, and I could have accomplished much more if I had retained the advocacy of my principles.

"Eismann: This is a remarkable admission . . .

"Coughlin: Oh, I don't think so. I think every man has to mature a little bit, and make an act of contrition sometime during his life, because there is no human being perfect.

"Eismann: Looking back again, and then looking forward in the same question and answer, there is a considerable degree of noise about in the country these days about a movement generally called the Far Right. Can you equate in any way this movement with . . . your type of activities

An estimated 50 million persons listened to Father Coughlin during the peak of his popularity. When it was rumored that his broadcasts may stop, the sponsoring station received 350,000 letters of protest.

in the Thirties?

"Coughlin: Oh, no, I don't think so.

"Eismann: Could you be specific why not?

"Coughlin: Well, first of all, I'm not too sure what the Far Right really means. I don't know who is sure, but one concept of affairs in general . . . I'm more or less convinced that all the things that existed yesterday in the materialistic fields must pass away. Even some of our pet policies of national improvement must give away to new policies. I'm not so sure that our old definition of imperialism could have . . . oh, I'm not so sure that imperialism could be revived, for example. I think that's passe, just as much as Pericles' Doctrine of Republicanism is passe. I'm not so sure that monarchy could ever return . . . I think that's passe. I'm not so sure that our once rigid form of capitalism could obtain today. I think many things that we cherished as unimpeachable have to surrender.

"Eismann: You were quite hard to impeach in your time.

"Coughlin: I was stubborn, perhaps.

"Eismann: Yours was basically an economic approach, was it not?

"Coughlin: Yes . . . well, I'd say a moral economic approach, because in my understanding of things, economics is really a part of morality. It's our relation, one to the other, one group to another, one nation to another, as well as one individual to another.

"Eismann: Then, am I correct in saying that those who have described themselves as extreme conservatives or arch-conservative, or the Right Wing are incorrect in striving to return to a more traditional economic system?

"Coughlin: Well, of course, principles are principles . . . two and two the four will always obtain, and thievery will always be considered an immorality. Those principles will remain; but, nevertheless, the application of those principles have to be reviewed once in a while. In this Far Rightism, as I conceive it, I'm afraid they want the old, capitalistic concept of money to obtain. They're always so fearful that we're going to become bankrupt, always fearful that the Federal debt is going to become unmanageable. Well, in my concept of things, I think the Federal debt should be put into orbit and let it stay there. We admit that it's there, we're not going to try to annihilate it. We'll be content to pay

taxes on the interest, and let it be. But why should human beings all over the world, especially our American world, suffer for the lack of Federal spending or Federal credit for new houses, new factories, new schools, new hospitals? To me, it doesn't make sense, because, after all, money is simply a man-made instrumentality.

"Eismann: You sound like a liberal Democrat.

"Coughlin: Maybe I am . . . maybe I'm liberal. A human care comes ahead of financial care, in my estimation.

"Eismann: This area of spending and economics and fiscal responsibility which was so involved in the things that you preached caused you, in the Thirties, to be highly critical of the administration of the President. In these years, it's causing others to be highly critical of the current President. Do you feel that the degree of criticism of the chief executive should remain high, or should it abate?

"Coughlin: Well, in my opinion, the president is living in a glass house, and the binoculars of all the nation constantly train upon his every action, his every thought. He knows that. All of us know it. And in our system of doing things, we have a right to inspect him. That's Americanism. But we haven't a right to oppose his actions when he is President to the extent that the tribute . . . oh, maliciousness to him or anything like that or evil, selling out to Castro, selling out to Khrushchev . . . I think that's horrible to accuse Mr. Kennedy of those things. After all, he has a wife, he has children, he has assets in this country, he has a good moral background with a good training . . . he's just as anxious for the maintenance of the United States as you or I.

"Eismann: You're personally familiar with his family, are you not?

"Coughlin: Well, with his father and his mother, yes. I think they're fine, highly-regarded Americans . . . high, moral standards. If anything, John Kennedy is certainly bred properly.

"Eismann: Did his father support you in the Thirties?

"Coughlin: Support me? No. we were just friends. I had many friends who didn't support me. I never sought their support either, but they enjoy holding conversation with me. Sometimes agreeing . . . sometimes disagreeing.

"Eismann: The accusation had been



Bernard Eisman, CBS News Chief Midwestern Correspondent, has joined FOCUS/Midwest as a contributing editor. He was appointed to his CBS post in June, 1959 and operates out of Chicago.

Eismann has covered news stories in 46 of the nation's 50 states, reporting on CBS News programs such as "Walter Cronkite and the News," "Eyewitness," "World News Round-up," "The World Tonight," and the hourly news reports. In addition, he has his own program.

made and there was the general feeling that there was an anti-Semitic tone to much of what you said. Is that true?

"Coughlin: It's quite possible, if not probable that those who didn't agree with me took the viewpoint that I was against the men on account of their religion or their race, which wasn't true.

"Eismann: Father Coughlin, starting in 1926, rising to some eminence in 1939 and then continuing through the Thirties you were preaching your doctrine of "Social Justice." Just what did that consist of?

"Coughlin: Well, at that time it was rather nebulous in my mind as in the minds of most persons who were attempting social justice. As I conceive it, it was a new field . . . it had existed in theory. It had existed in the abstract, but very few of us had tried to put it into practice. My concept of social justice at the time reveals this — to give the underprivileged more opportunities to rise from their poor estate.

"Eismann: It was basically, if my reading is correct, an anti-capitalist approach.

"Coughlin: Well, I don't know, Mr. Eismann. I would say it was not so much anti-capitalist; it was more or less the faults of capitalism. I never believe in the philosophy of cutting off the head to cure the headache.

"Eismann: After that, beginning in '36, then through '37, '38 and '39, you had linked yourself in one way or another with forces committed to anti-Semitism?

"Coughlin: Yes, that was widely advertised that I had. Unfortunately, there are good Jews and bad Jews, good Christians and bad Christians; and, unfortunately, I had nominated some Christians as well as some Jews who were . . . well, to my way of thinking at the time . . . not for social justice, if I may put it that way.

"Eismann: You became active in a true political sense in '36. In the business of trying to push Representative Lemke of North Dakota you allied yourself, politically at least, with Gerald L. K. Smith, who's been regarded as one of the most . . .

"Coughlin: Pardon me . . . pardon me. I certainly never allied myself with Mr. Smith. Mr. Smith, rather, tried to ally himself with me . . . unsuccessfully.

"Eismann: For the last twenty-one years, you have been seldom heard outside your parish in Royal Oak. What is it, if anything, that at this time makes you feel more free to express yourself?

"Coughlin: Oh, I'm not necessarily free . . . I'm not expressing myself on things politic or things philosophical. I'm just an ordinary citizen now, having attained this three score and ten with the powers of observation that a younger man lacks. You see, when you gain not your majority, but your senile maturity, if I may put it that way, you really can reappraise things.

"Eismann: Has it been for you personally, then, an almost agonizing reappraisal?

"Coughlin: No . . . no . . . no . . . no. It's not agonizing at all . . . I think it's the humiliations that an old man acquires. A young man knows nothing or very little about it.

"Eismann: About humility?

"Coughlin: Yes.

"Eismann: Can you tell me, Father, the circumstances in 1940 and '41 that led to your going off the air into the . . .

"Coughlin: Oh, I prefer not to reappraise those things or recall them even, because it would lead me into too many personal channels. And so let the dead past bury its dead."



THROUGHOUT history, powerful nations have forged their swords and plowshares in the same fire. The underlying philosophy was expressed by an inscription in the Armory of Venice: "Happy the city which in time of peace thinks of war."

The American concept of happiness does not include war. Nonetheless, this nation has seen fit to devote a sizeable portion of its peacetime economy to national defense. The burden did not crush us; in fact, the intellectual, productive, and managerial efforts put forth to strengthen and sustain the country's security simultaneously created new industries, professions, and jobs.

The satisfaction with this state of things is reflected in the concern which is felt over the possibility that peace might "break out." The probable economic consequences of disarmament are viewed by many people with considerable misgivings.

Government and private agencies have made exhaustive studies to project the likely effects of curtailments in the defense budgets on our economy. A recent example of such a study is an analysis by the Southern California Associates of the Committee for Economic Development which finds that one out of three jobs in Southern California is dependent upon a continued high level of defense expenditures. The study concludes that major cutbacks in defense spending are most unlikely during the 1960's. The report concedes that there will be shifts causing hardships for many specialized defense-oriented manufacturers.

The time element is significant. It is highly improbable that production

for defense will be cut substantially during this decade.

WHY then is there such public clamor over the matter? Is so much devoted to national defense that a relaxation of the cold war would create serious economic disruptions?

All defense expenditures made within the United States eventually become either corporate or personal income which, in turn, is spent or invested, thus generating other income. Estimates are that almost one-fifth of GNP may arise either directly or indirectly from the tax dollars spent for defense purposes.

Defense is big business, even though by no means the overwhelming part of business in this country. The public has good reason to be concerned over the economic results of sudden disarmament. However, if we agree that the probability of sudden disarmament is virtually nil, we must find another reason underlying the wide public preoccupation with this problem.

The reason may be largely emotional. Most of our leaders in business, in the professions, and in government belong to a generation which at first hand experienced the salutary effects of burgeoning defense industry upon the nation's economic life. It was the war industry which, in 1940, broke the back of the Great Depression. Stimulating that war industry, federal purchases of goods and services which had amounted to \$1.3 billion in 1929, the last pre-depression year, rose to \$6.2 billion in 1940. Between 1939 and 1945 Gross National Product rose by 75 per cent (in real terms) while unemployment

*Modern War Industry Can Adapt To Peace —
Ironically, States Without Such Industry Now May Still Be Relegated
To The Hinterlands in a Peacetime Economy*

THE ECONOMICS OF PEACE

Berndt L. Kolker

dwindled from 9.5 million to virtually nothing.

Again in 1950 when the country felt the first constrictions of a post-war recession, renewed defense needs arising from the Korean War revitalized the economy.

It is possible then that we (like the Marxists) tend to ascribe certain unusual qualities to the defense sector of our manufacturing industry. We are uneasy lest restrictions in this sector would cause calamities similar to those which we experienced only 30 years ago.

In fact, the defense sector of our economy *does* have some unusual characteristics. It adds a third dimension to the manufacturing economy generally occupied with production of capital and consumer goods. In this third dimension, different rules seem to govern the economic game: while the consumer and his caprices appear to determine the pace of the economy, modern defense industry, on the other hand, is totally independent of consumer whims. Consequently, it is very attractive to investors since it minimizes their risks.

It is true that traditionally defense production supplied a consumer market of a kind. Rifles, cartridges, bayonettes, and cannons were manufactured until the demand of the military had been satisfied. Once that point had been reached, the accumulated stockpile had to be consumed. This was accomplished by war.

Today, however, even such traditional weapons as rifles or artillery never are allowed to accumulate to the point of market saturation. Technological advances quickly tend to

make these weapons obsolete; they must therefore be scrapped and replaced. Moreover, the highly industrialized countries undertake as a matter of national defense strategy to supply arms to their less industrialized allies. These two factors combine to assure continued demand, short of war, for military production. There is a third, even more important factor: A growing share of the national defense outlay is devoted to research, development, and production of nuclear devices and space missiles.

Here we find that the market is virtually self-perpetuating. Technological innovations occur at a very rapid pace and create new demands. Moreover, consumption is accomplished by test and experiment rather than by warfare. A single space shot or nuclear test "consumes" more in productive effort than did many a small war even as recently as the early part of this century.

As has already been indicated, this novel area of our national defense effort is gaining in economic importance. Consider these facts:

In 1958, combined expenditures for the Defense Department's Missile and Space Sector and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) amounted to 6.5 per cent of the total National Security budget. In 1960, allocations to these two enterprises had doubled to 13 per cent. (The comparison is based on figures which have been adjusted for inflationary erosion.)

Projections made in 1960 (before the build-up in the space program authorized by Congress in mid-1961) suggest the following developments:

Between 1960 and 1970, total Na-

tional Security expenditures are likely to rise by one-third, from some \$46 billion to \$61 billion. During the same period, it is estimated that the share of these expenditures devoted to space, missiles, the Atomic Energy Commission, and NASA will nearly double. In 1960, these three categories of expenditures accounted for 18 per cent of the total National Security budget. By 1970, they will probably account for 33 per cent of that budget.

THE nuclear and space sector of our military preparedness program has another highly important characteristic: an almost unlimited peacetime potential. We may be confident that the rapidly growing tax dollar investment in atomic and space-oriented industries were palatable to our legislators only because advances in these industries are vital to national survival. It is highly doubtful that these investments would have been authorized under conditions of world-wide peace.

Yet, economically speaking, the potential peaceful uses of the atom and the rocket may far exceed their military values. The nuclear and space allocations in the Federal Budget will probably never be reduced, *even* if there were to be a dependable international disarmament treaty. In fact, federal expenditures now devoted to conventional aircraft, tanks, or artillery may well then be rechanneled into accelerated development of civilian uses for nuclear energy and space exploration. These civilian uses could have a more far-reaching effect on the economy and the social structure of the nation than did the automotive industry.

If our conclusions are valid:

(1) that our concern over curtailments in defense industry may arise in part from our emotional dependence on the particular economic strength that we believe to be inherent in that industry;

(2) that an increasing share of our total defense outlay is devoted to the space-oriented and atomic-energy-related industries; and

(3) that these industries have peacetime uses which far outdistance their military uses,

it follows that we already have the substitutional ingredients for a shift to a true peacetime economy. The nuclear and space industries are essentially financed by the taxpayer. Expansion of these industries will probably require a sizable share of the tax funds now used for other military purposes. However, when these funds are invested for peacetime uses, they will tend to generate a range of additional industrial needs with accompanying investment and employment opportunities.

It is not suggested that these developments will come without sound planning and hard effort. But it is suggested that even a potentially "doomed" defense industry sector carries within it the seeds of new and highly productive economic potential.

Alarmists who fear that a peacetime economy will witness the return of breadlines and of WPA programs overlook the potential inherent in our technological needs. Nuclear and space industries will command a highly creative and productive economy. The demand for scientists, engineers, technicians, and skilled labor forces will be virtually insatiable. To fulfill this demand, the nation must have more schools, more teachers, more laboratories, more research agencies and new factories which manufacture new products for new needs.

The national prospects for a peacetime economy appear to be good. The

question is if all parts of the country will share equally in these prospects.

WHAT of our own region, Missouri and Illinois? The fact is that neither of these two states now looms importantly in the national defense picture. The following figures will illustrate this:

Share of Total National Defense Budget Spent in Missouri and Illinois Compared to Share in Population and Manufacturing Employment, 1960

	Mo. % of Nat'l. Total	Ill. % of Nat'l. Total
Population	2.4	5.6
Manufacturing Employment	2.3	7.1
Defense Expenditures	1.5	2.1

(Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Department of Defense.)

Most recent data for 1961 indicate that the position of these two states in the national picture has not improved. For Illinois, it has remained static, while it has slightly declined in the case of Missouri. Conversely, in four other states in this region, defense industry occupies a far more important position. For the purpose of illustration, the states of California and Texas are also shown below.

On the face of it, the conclusion appears to be a happy one. Neither Illinois nor Missouri has a major stake in the national defense industry, consequently neither state needs to worry about curtailment in defense spending. In fact, one may assume that the economic situation in both states is far more balanced than it is, for example, in the state of California.

However, in the light of the thoughts expressed, *lack of certain categories of defense plants is more serious than lack of other categories*. What are the prospects for Missouri and Illinois in regard to manufacturing for space and atomic needs?

In 1960, nearly 70 per cent of all procurement actions for supplies,



services, and construction pertinent to nuclear and space programs were made in ten states. Missouri and Illinois were not included among them and play only insignificant roles in the space and atomic energy efforts, even though the astronauts' capsules are manufactured in St. Louis.

It may be concluded that curtailment in defense spending will have only moderate direct effects in Missouri and Illinois. Indirect effects, although more difficult to identify, are likely to be more far-reaching.

It also seems evident that the economies of Missouri and Illinois are not oriented toward the advanced phases of the science-based industry. It is unlikely, therefore, that overall national shifts from defense to peacetime nuclear and space industries will make significant impacts on these two states. However, if the Midwest wants to participate in the economic, industrial, and scientific advances which will probably arise from civilian uses of these industries, it must prepare now. School systems must review and improve their curricula. Teacher education rather than teacher training will be required. The universities and colleges must be given more funds so that they may enter into an ever more highly competitive market for teachers and research fellows, and may provide adequate facilities for study and research.

If peace should come, our nation may have an unprecedented opportunity for advance.

Those states which are not ready to take advantage of that opportunity may find themselves relegated to the social and economic hinterland of the future.

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Share of National Defense Budget Spent in Selected States Compared to Shares of Population and Manufacturing Employment, 1960

	Percentages of National Totals					
	Kansas	Okl.	Nebr.	Colo.	Texas	Calif.
Population	1.2	1.9	.7	.9	5.3	8.8
Manufacturing Employment	.6	.5	.3	.5	2.9	7.7
Defense Expenditures	2.1	1.2	.5	1.3	6.3	18.4

Sources: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census
Department of Defense

NEW MENTAL HEALTH PLAN REDUCES TOTAL COST AND LENGTH OF RECOVERY

George A. Ulett

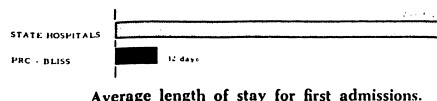
Acting Director of the Missouri Division of Mental Diseases.

PSYCHIATRIC care and treatment can be made available to all who need such services. This was one of the findings of a study made in February of last year.

The five State hospitals, with a total of 11,000 beds, were compared in terms of treatment results with Missouri's two, small, municipally operated intensive treatment hospitals: the Malcolm Bliss Mental Health Center in St. Louis and the Psychiatric Receiving Center in Kansas City, with a total of 252 beds.

A patient admitted for the first time to State hospitals could expect a treatment period of nine months on the average; while a similar patient with a similar diagnoses admitted to the municipal hospitals could expect to be rehabilitated and returned to the community in one month. The two municipal hospitals treated 40 per cent of all patients in Missouri.

Evidently, Missouri is already offering a modern, intensive psychiatric program with optimal chance for early recovery to some of its citizens



but "this discriminatory program is available only to residents of the two largest cities. Persons living elsewhere in Missouri are denied this level of psychiatric care."

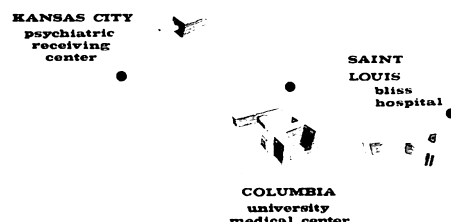
If we could add roughly 360 additional beds in the form of small intensive treatment hospitals that would admit patients from all over Missouri, we could offer the same modern, effective care to all Missourians. The five existing, understaffed, and overcrowded hospitals are not equipped to offer the necessary treatment for maximum recovery.

The success of any treatment pro-

gram depends upon a sufficient cadre of mental health workers. Missouri's training program has been given the highest priority. The State Division of Personnel is establishing salaries for key-teaching and research positions that are equal to those obtainable at university medical centers. Already several qualified persons have been placed in key positions to direct the Division's program and to teach and do research.

Professional mental health workers tend to congregate in medical centers

*Locations of proposed
Intensive Psychiatric
Treatment Hospitals*



and around medical schools. Over the last half century, we have not been able to attract qualified workers in adequate numbers to staff out-state hospitals. We are also woefully short of psychiatrists. We need 1,000, we have 195. There are only 13,000 in the United States and 80 per cent of these are in private practice, devoting their time to a small, highly selected group of fee-paying patients.

In order to develop the intensive treatment hospitals as quickly as possible, they have to be located at points where there are the greatest number of trained personnel: Kansas City, St. Louis, and Columbia. Kansas City and St. Louis already have such intensive treatment centers. By enlarging these operations and bringing

them under State support, this program can be in operation within two years. At these locations more than 70 young physicians are in training to be psychiatrists. This gives us the opportunity to recruit added professional staff and maintain the high doctor-to-patient ratio needed for the beds to be added by the three intensive treatment hospitals.

The daily patient cost for operating the small hospitals will be considerably higher than is the per-patient cost in the existing State hospitals. But actually it would be less costly to rehabilitate a patient in one month at \$24 a day, than to treat the same patient for nine months at \$4.43 a day. More important is the human saving of eight months of wasteful, unnecessary hospitalization.

In October, Governor John M. Dalton dedicated the Missouri Institute of Psychiatry — a milestone in public psychiatry and a notable step forward for Missouri. This Institute, centralized at the St. Louis State Hospital, will train workers in the field of public psychiatry. Its research will focus on clinical psychiatry, par-

ticularly the treatment of patients in State hospitals. It will also evaluate the treatment program of the Mental Health Division.

The next step in the march towards a modern state will depend directly upon the legislature and indirectly upon the support of the public. In 1962 there is more hope for the mentally ill than at any previous time in history. When treatment is applied early and adequately, much chronic suffering can be prevented. Unfortunately in Missouri, as in many other states, modern care is not readily available for the majority of patients who need psychiatric treatment. But it can be made available if funds are appropriated by the Missouri Legislature.

RETAIL BUSINESS AND THE BLUE LAWS

Leland I. Howell

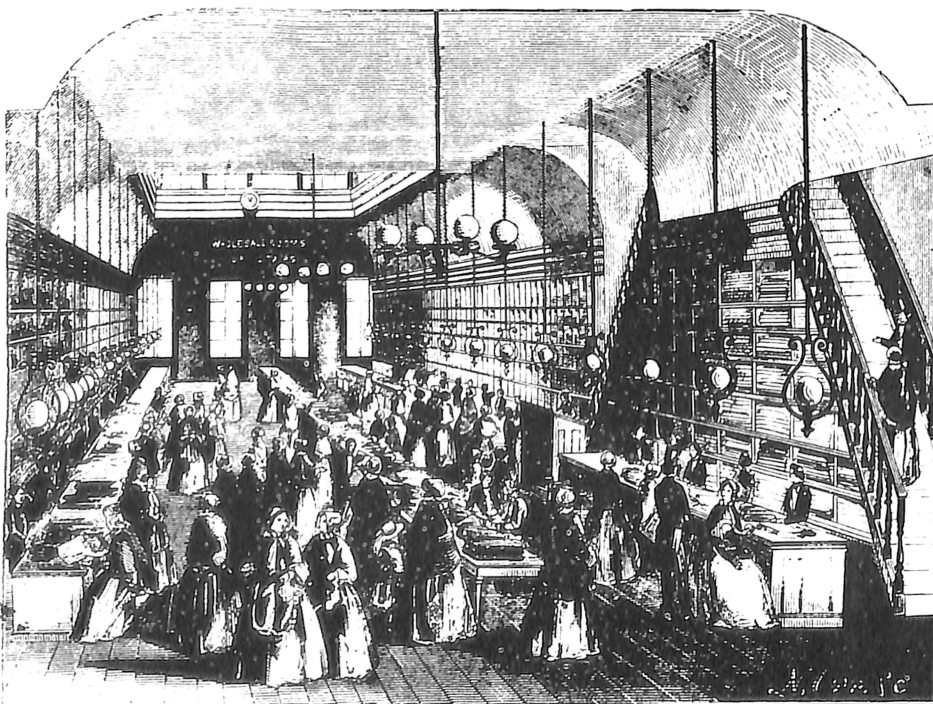
Missouri's Sunday Closing statutes, generally admitted to be anachronistic, will probably be with us for some time. Despite the revisions which the Missouri General Assembly can be predicted to accomplish, these laws will continue to be a center of controversy. They will give rise to further legal battles and bitterness among the disagreeing factions. It seems safe to predict that no amount of political wisdom will be sufficient to bring about a compromise.

Missouri's 137-year-old law which bans Sunday sales of everything except drugs, medicines, provisions, and other articles of immediate necessity is by no means unique. About two-thirds of the states have similar laws. But, there is considerable variation in the enforcement of these laws.

A milestone in Blue Law enforcement was established in 1961 when the United States Supreme Court ruled that these laws in Maryland, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania did not violate the constitution with regard to separation of church and state. This placed the Blue Law clearly within the realm of States' rights. Since the decision, a number of states, including Texas, Michigan and Massachusetts, have stepped up their enforcement procedures. Currently, there are strong campaigns being fought to secure passage of Sunday Closing Laws in Utah, Colorado, and Florida. We are in the midst of a strong upsurge of pro-Blue Law activity.

During 1962, a number of arrests were made for Sunday-selling violations in Missouri. The law has been ruled constitutional by a panel of three federal judges in St. Louis, although a discount firm has since filed suit challenging the constitutionality on grounds of violation of rights to religious freedom and to due process of law. Meanwhile, the Kansas Supreme Court has declared that state's Blue Law unconstitutional. Proponents are currently seeking passage of a new Kansas law. In mid-December of 1962, the United States Supreme Court reaffirmed its earlier decision in the Kentucky case, with a simple order saying that no substantial Federal question was presented.

THERE are five economic issues which have an important bearing upon Sunday closing laws and which



help to explain the attitudes of many business supporters. First of all, many retail merchants want to restrain their major competitors through public regulation. In recent years, vigorous competition has arisen with the emergence of discount houses, non-food retailing in supermarkets, and the super-drugstore.

The use of Sunday closing laws to restrain certain types of retail competition appears to be the most important issue. It is significant that the attention of Blue Law supporters focuses upon retailing rather than manufacturing or transportation. The focus is further sharpened down to suburban retailing where discount houses, giant supermarkets, and super-drugstores predominate. These establishments are aggressive competitors and have developed an image, rightly or wrongly, of leadership in modern merchandising.

The history of American retailing is one of continual innovation, which have all been resisted by retailers. In the late nineteenth century the department store was a new idea which was vigorously opposed as a threat to small specialty stores. Public regulation of department stores was advocated lest "legitimate" businesses be driven to the wall. In fact, the issue was so popular that William Jennings Bryan campaigned for the Presidency on a platform which included federal regulation of department stores in the interest of small merchants. Since then the department store has become not only respectable, but venerable.

The story of resistance was repeated with the emergence of grocery chains in the 1920's, with the appearance of the supermarket in the 1930's, and now, with the growth of the suburban shopping center and its discount house and vast parking lot. Invariably, the battle cry was "protect the legitimate retailer," and each time the battle was lost. Each time, moreover, the erstwhile "illegitimate" retailer rapidly gained acceptance, respectability, and finally became the "legitimate" establishment leading the fight against the newest threat. It is only in this historical context that Blue Laws, Resale Price Maintenance Laws, and other versions of Fair Trade legislation can be fully understood.

The current fight against new forms of retailing stand no better chance of success than have the battles of the past. The suburban discount house complex will continue to thrive whether it operates

seven, six, or even five days a week, because of low prices, accessibility, and a modern and progressive atmosphere.

THE second economic issue is closely related to the first. The non-discount, non-supermarket type retailers are also the so-called "downtown" retailers in most cities. The downtown merchants have been experiencing hard times partially because of suburban competition and partially because of urban blight. Central business districts in many cities have become slums. The affected business men are anxious to revitalize their districts, but they wish to see some stabilization of retailing methods before they make the necessary investments. It is easy to see how they might interpret stabilization to include Sunday closing since this is in accord with their customs and traditions.

The issue of revitalization of downtown and the belief that some stabilization of retailing is required, cannot be dismissed as unimportant. Downtown merchants are handicapped by internal deficiencies in merchandising, inadequately trained sales personnel, and obsolete buildings and fixtures; and also by external factors such as traffic congestion, inadequate parking, and the decay and ugliness of large groups of buildings. Sunday closing is only a peripheral issue here.

THE third issue can be stated quite explicitly. Sunday closing is seen as a restraint upon suburban competition which offers price cutting, selfservice, provision of free and easily accessible parking, one-stop shopping, and advertising appeal to family shopping.

There is little hope that Blue Laws can effectively block these competitive practices. Retailing methods which are so attractive to consumers can scarcely be legislated out of existence.

A fourth issue concerns the retail employee. A seven-day work-week necessitates additional employees, split - work schedules, overtime pay, and causes other complications. Sustaining a high level of employee morale becomes more difficult and the likelihood of unionization looms larger.

The issue of employee wages and working conditions is a major problem in retailing. Higher standards are needed and the day is not far distant when this problem must be met head-on by retail management.

Sunday closing will enable some businesses to borrow time, but this will prove to be a very short run postponement. Blue Law's are not a solution to the problem of low productivity, inadequate training, and lagging incentives among employees.

A final consideration is the attitude of retail store owners and managers toward their own working conditions. One of the compelling reasons for owning and operating a small retail business is the sense of independence realized from "being in business for yourself." It is difficult to maintain a self-image of true independence if your work-week is seven days.

Small firms cannot support a forty-hour work-week for executives. The independence of the small retailer is paid for dearly. Commercial survival demands long hours however they may be distributed over the week. Mandatory Sunday closing could lead to sixteen hour days during the rest of the week.

These economic considerations explain the fervor with which some retailing groups support Sunday closing. But, at best, the Blue Laws will provide short-run relief and some postponement of the inevitable day of reckoning.

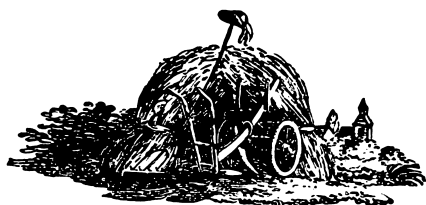
No one wants complete cessation of Sunday selling, but each interest group would like to prohibit the particular type of Sunday selling which it finds injurious in its own case. The supporters of Blue Laws have much less in common than they may believe at the moment. The lack of any genuine solidarity will eventually lead to their failure. This may take many years.

The sooner the "downtown" retailers stop fooling themselves that their salvation lies in Sunday closing laws, the better off they will be. Their only hope rests upon a long and difficult program of improving their efficiency and rebuilding their section of the city. Until they start giving customers good reasons to patronize them on weekdays, they will gain very little by forcing their competitors to close on Sundays.

Leland L. Howell is an associate professor of economics in the Breech School of Business Administration, Drury College, Springfield, Missouri. He formerly taught at the University of California. He has done research on problems of urban and regional economic development and location and competitive behavior in retailing.

BRUSH ARBOR MEETIN'S IN THE OZARKS

HERB RICE



The Ozarks, even today are a hot-bed of emotionalism and holy-rollerism that beats anything my native Little Dixie's Negroes could stage in the old days. When late summer arrives and crops, such as they are, are out of the way, the "brush arbor" season sets in. All the rural natives then turn out to fight the devil, both by day and by night, under arbors and in tents.

The revival meeting is the most zestful factor in the life of the backwoods Ozarker, barring sex — and they both go together. Despite all the seriousness and the terrible import that an evangelistic session is calculated to convey, it is "a thing of beauty and a joy forever" to persons of all ages and both sexes. Indeed, it is the only thing that can break down the reserve and stoicism of the native men and women, while to children it means more fun than a three-ringed circus, for here they can be participants as well as spectators. A revival disrupts, for its duration, all other activities in the community, being the major object of interest in every household and at every cross-roads store and filling station.

It is an informal affair. The women generally attend in plain house dresses, the kids come barefoot and frequently in dirty or ragged overalls, while the men show up in the same clothes that they wore about their chores in the daytime. It is just as well, considering that some of them, before the end of the services, will work up a lather of sweat equalled only by that of a race horse and will climax the frenzy by rolling in the dust and going into trances on the ground.

There is no end to the supply of brush arbor preachers, nor to the

variety of denominations that go in for the holy-roller type of evangelism. All are classified under the general Pentecostal head. As for the sky-pilots, some of them are farmers and tradesmen by day and saviors of mankind by night. There is the itinerant preacher, who drifts from community to community and from state to state, following the revival circuit, and not even an advance man for a circus has a better line on where crops are best and spending money most plentiful. Then, there is the imported "city preacher," idolized as a big-shot among the bucolic brethren, but who preaches in some back alley or side street in a converted garage or old store building in the winter time. As for the precise denominations and sub-denominations, they run mostly to Pentecostal, Nazarene, Church of God, Assembly of God, or off-shoots thereof.

Strange things are done in this world in the name of God and under the banner of religion. While no hill-billy would admit even to himself that these meetings are not purely and solely for the glorification of the Almighty and for the salvation of human souls, the devotional and spiritual aspects of the thing are of least consideration. Hill people, after all, lead very dull and constricted lives. The true psychology of the brush arbor is that the revival meeting gives each individual the opportunity to break the shell of his personal isolation and to give vent to his pent-up emotions in a holy cause. The Old Testament has its ecstasies, too.

A revival starts off rather calmly and soberly, with some reading of the scriptures and some singing. That breaks the ice and guitars and banjos are brought into play. Soon there is an agitation of the feet, old hymns get louder and more fervent, there begins a wave of swaying and wriggling and some break into an outright dance. There is intermittent exhorting by various persons, under evangelical guidance, accompanied by louder and louder shouts of "Amen," "Praise God," and "Bless His Name," as sinners begin to go forth to the mourner's bench in front, weeping and wailing. Those who presume themselves already saved crowd around the penitents to plead, pray, shout, and sing, as the din grows louder. Soon bedlam breaks loose and certain of them start talking in "unknown tongues" — a gibberish which is supposed to be divinely-inspired by modern Ozarks and ancient

Greeks.

The process of conversion is called "breaking through." It seems that the way to Heaven — or more properly the way out of Hell — is obstructed by some sort of crust or wall which one must break through. After much terrifying weeping and many painful contortions, the stricken sinner falls to the ground, writhing in the agony of his damnation and finally passes out, to all appearances. Men, women, and kids, may all fall down together, some remaining prostrate for a long period of time. When a sinner comes to, he jumps up shouting, singing, and cavorting, for he has "broke through." After the grand climax has swept by, they still linger for a time, old women and little tots shouting intermittently "Praise God!" and "Bless Jesus!" They are "full of the Power," it is explained to the uninitiated.

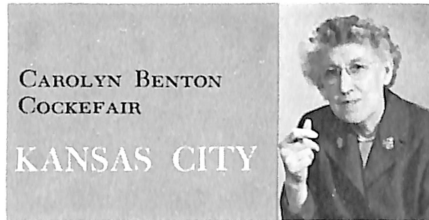
So, first and last, every individual in the arbor has been seen or heard — has indulged his primary urge for self-expression. For a few minutes, the most inconspicuous individual was, in his own mind at least, an active and a spectacular figure. He had let his hair down, so to speak, had been seen and heard and had gotten something out of his system. And it all had been done for the glorification of the Lord!

There is something about the frenzy and the uproar of a religious orgy that brings participants of both sexes in heat. When the last "Amen" has been said, the devout worshippers pair off, as best they can, for the return, by easy and sometimes circuitous stages, to their homes.

Little is thought about it, therefore, if some of the girls and women arrive home with chigger-bites on their thighs and dead oak leaves clinging to their dress-tails. Those in the know will admit that there is some foundation for the old pioneer saying that "There are more souls made than saved at a camp-meetin'."

This may disturb moralists. But probably moralists relieve their tensions by getting disturbed.

Herb Rice is a veteran newspaperman, amateur historian, and descendant of a pioneer family that moved into Missouri prior to statehood. He attended the University of Missouri, worked for the Associated Press, edited rural newspapers, and later the Missouri State Manual. He now lives in Springfield, Missouri.



The Wall Street Journal on November 16, 1962 called our attention to Americas "shifting moorings" in ethics and in "character building." With full awareness of Pope's Fools-rush-in, I dare to suggest that we are still bound by the philosophy of Plato, and unfortunately deny the philosophy of Einstein.

The new law given unto us is relativity. Plato held that abstractions, goodness, truth, beauty, justice exist outside the mind of man — external, unchanging, absolute. Jesus and Paul recognized that these concepts were meaningless unless they applied to the human conditions; the time, the place, the circumstance — the relationship determined the action. Let him who is without sin cast the first stone; faith without works is dead. Shakespeare must have been in communication with the scholars who made the King James translation of the Bible; for he exemplified the philosophy of Jesus again and again. One illustration may suffice.

When Portia tells Shylock that he must be merciful, he asks why. This question sets the witty, would-be young lawyer back. She forsakes logic and legality; she makes a long, beautifully abstract, Platonic speech on the quality of mercy. At the conclusion of the trial, the Duke allows Portia to assess the penalty. With the blessedness of mercy ringing in our ears, we expect her to be merciful to the old, heart-broken man without a country. Not so! Portia deprives him of his ducats, his daughter, and his religion; and in so doing makes a hollow mockery of her abstractions. She then turns to demand the ring from her husband without a thought for him; and as she approaches her home, thinks that she has performed a good

February, 1963

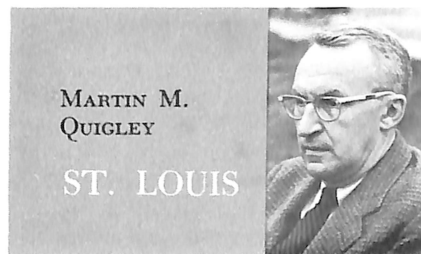
deed in a naughty world.

To be sure man must have visions and dream dreams; law is law, and the wages of sin is death. But Einstein reminds us of the relativity of natural law and of all human associations.

Portia could be Kansas City's patron Saint. While Kansas City has been in an orgy of Christmas shopping, and a million dollars has been raised as a guarantee for a Billy Graham Crusade in 1965, our citizens have repudiated the taxes recommended by their own duly — elected and highly competent Board of Education.

Let us ponder relationships: The wages of inaction of the intelligent is death.

Here endeth the New Year's sermon!



Who is Oliver Boyle?

A better question, especially for out-of-towners and readers of the morning newspaper here, is what is Oliver Boyle. That we can answer.

Oliver Boyle is the pseudonym of the person, presumably, who writes the new saloon column, appearing on Sundays fortnightly in the *Post-Dispatch*. What makes the by-line witty, again for out-of-towners and readers of Brand A, is that it is a column about Gaslight Square, which is cross-roaded (a new verb, please note) by Olive Street and Boyle Avenue.

Who is the real Oliver Boyle? Or who is Oliver Boyle, really?

Not much is known about him on Gaslight Square. He pays for his own drinks and buys his own tickets. "Apparently," as one saloon keeper remarked, "he has a lot of integrity to protect."

Most saloon columnists play a much

tougher game. They accept as their due the hospitality and entertainment of a subject joint and then trust themselves to call it as they see it.

Free and unbought, Oliver Boyle found smut and vulgarity on both sides of the Crystal Palace and rushed into print with them, fearlessly and with such intense integrity that business at the Palace, according to Jay Landesman, remained seasonably dull.

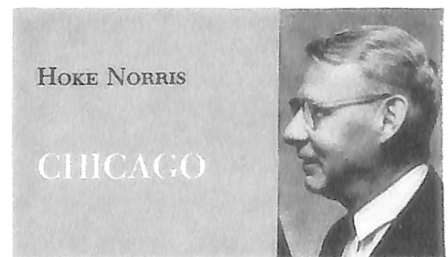
He paid for his own drink at the Gaslight and found its bartender to be "snarling" and rushed into print with that. People continue to go to the Gaslight to bask in the strange glow of that personality as if it had not been exposed.

Who is Oliver Boyle? Conjecture around the Press Club, where journalistic and literary style are daily weighed and assayed, has eliminated, for one reason or another, such candidates as Dickson Terry, Ted Link, Jack Rice, William H. Kester, William K. Wyant, Tom Sherman, Ernest Kirschten, William Woo, and Adele Starbird. No other possibilities were pressed with much energy.

Some body made the nearly libelous suggestion that Bob Goddard has infiltrated from the *Globe* and is working both sides of the Meridian, P and A. Somebody else got to wondering if Newhouse had bought up the *Post* in order to find a hospitable editor.

Who is Oliver Boyle? We cannot say.

But the *Post* has a saloon column at last, and that is something, never mind who — or, for that matter, why.



(Hoke Norris, literary critic of the Chicago Sun-Times, is substituting for Mark M. Perlberg, the regular columnist of "Dateline: Chicago." Perlberg will be back in March.)

Chicago witnessed recently an at-

tempt to exhibit a defeat as a victory. For those who during the years have opposed censorship, it was a golden moment, full of warmth and chuckles. The man who tried to snatch the victory from the jaws of defeat was the *Chicago's American* columnist, Jack Mabley, who has long been one of the city's most active and vocal spokesmen for the few citizens who would presume to dictate to the many citizens what books they may and may not buy.

If you're familiar with the story, you know that the most spectacular recent attempt at censorship in the Chicago area was made by city and suburban police against Henry Miller's "Tropic of Cancer." Without warrants, without having read the book, with little more to operate upon than their own supposedly outraged sensibilities, the police of several suburbs, and some police in Chicago, confiscated the paperback edition of "Tropic of Cancer" and otherwise made it plain to book sellers that they'd be in for trouble if they persisted in selling it.

The publisher, Grove Press, and the American Civil Liberties Union took the issue to the courts, asking for an order restraining further interference with the sale of Miller's novel. After a long trial, Superior Court Judge Samuel B. Epstein ruled that "Tropic of Cancer" was not a work of pornography, under the law and the ruling judgments of the Supreme Court. He wrote a masterly opinion in which he restated several principles of American freedom, among them the limitations upon police powers, the right of one to choose his own intellectual fare, and the self-evident proposition that parents, rather than the police, have the responsibility for their children's reading materials.

The censors howled, but with no effect. You just can't howl down a judgment of the courts. Perhaps they realized, now and too late, that there was ample precedent for Judge Epstein's ruling, and that they'd taken on an antagonist that was just too big for them. More than 25 years ago, "Ulysses" was freed from the bonds of censorship, and so was "Lady Chatterley's Lover" within recent years. The censors should have realized, one would think, that in "Tropic of Cancer" they had encountered a novel of the same sort — one that would find its justification in the courts no less than in the literature of the world.

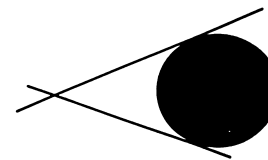
But the censors do realize it now,

and they've faced the issue and, through Mr. Mabley, called their defeat a victory. (One is reminded of the congressman who in soaring oratory proclaimed, "We must grab the bull by the tail and face the issue squarely.") The censors acknowledged the error of their ways — through Mr. Mabley. Though he testified against "Tropic of Cancer" before Judge Epstein, he now conceded that literary critics would testify that "Tropic of Cancer," "Ulysses" and "Lady Chatterley's Lover" "all have literary merit."

"While legal forces have been concentrated on these books," he wrote, "hundreds of millions of cheap obscene paperback books and smut magazines have been printed and sold . . . The attorney for the publisher of 'Tropic of Cancer' and its author . . . expressed concern and amazement that this book should be the subject of prosecution, while dozens of salacious books, which the attorney named, were untouched."

And now the victory. "That might have been the turning point, at least in Chicago . . . State's Attorney Dan Ward ordered an investigation of paperback and magazine smut six months ago. Assistant State's Attorney James Thompson now has the case before the grand jury. They're going after the men and women who write, print, and distribute the hundreds of millions of paperback books that even a moron wouldn't call literature . . . This shift in the point of attack against smut has brought another important change. A group of angry Chicagoans, . . . have formed a chapter of the Citizens for Decent Literature and Motion Pictures. Thru (sic) sheer persistence they have put the smut dealers in Chicago on the defensive . . . They have overcome the inertia of officials . . . For the first time in my six years in this fight, I feel we have stopped going downhill, and are finally beginning to hurt the filth peddlers."

It's always saddening to look upon the spectacle of a newspaperman advocating censorship (and Mabley is not the only Chicago newspaperman who does so.) He should realize that when tyranny comes, as it has to many nations, the tyrant first of all imposes censorship, and his first target is the newspapers. But let us not be solemn. Let us enjoy the moment of the censor's retreat that pretends it's an advance. And let us recall this bit of amusing, and illuminating, history: When the controversy over "Tropic of Cancer" was at its



FOR THE CONSUMER

National Labor Relations Board. DECISIONS AND ORDERS

The NLRB Board found, in agreement with Trial Examiner, that Robert S. Abbot Publishing Co., Chicago, violated the Act by refusing to bargain with the union and by refusing to reinstate unfair labor practice strikers upon their unconditional offer to return to work.

INTERMEDIATE REPORTS

Trial examiner found that Farrell-Hicks Chevrolet, Chicago, violated the Act by discharging Andrew Burinskas in order to discourage union activity.

Trial examiner found that A. P. Green Fire Brick Co. Mexico, Missouri, violated the Act by discriminatorily discharging Earl Docekal; by telling its employees that if the United Brick & Clay Workers won the election their hours of employment would be curtailed, that they would be unemployed, and that the plant might move; and by suggesting to the employees that the employer knew how they voted in the election.

Federal Trade Commission

Initial Decision (These are not final and may be reviewed by the Commission.)

A FTC hearing examiner has issued an order which would require United Biscuit Co., Melrose Park, Ill., to stop discriminating in price among competing purchasers of its biscuit products.

An order by a FTC hearing examiner would require Dandy Products, Inc., 9 S. Clinton St., Chicago, Ill., and its president, Joseph M. Gron, to stop selling merchandise through games of chance and supplying others with lottery devices.

height, the Citizens for Decent Literature extracted the juiciest passages from "Tropic of Cancer," fashioned them into a pamphlet, and mailed them to 10,000 persons. Now there was a book you ought to read.

FOCUS/Midwest

Invitation: A Pitch /

S. K. OVERBECK

With wares fresh from my night smoking factories,
I have come to wind up walking dolls, my friends,
a fast-money man in green suspenders,
my mouth a mellifluous huckster's horn,
my fingers bristling with gorgeous greenbacks
and innocence that blooms in my buttonhole.

I have come to peddle you precious secrets,
with my slick shave and unshakable grin,
I set up shop on a corner of your heart's traffic
to show my suitcase teems with treasures:
elixirs, amulets, practical fancies,
preventatives, potencies, gags & gimcracks,
all the priceless claptrap of my trade.

I sell you dreams from this strapped suitcase;
Pranksters and incredulous rubes, please note
if you will, this incredible clock
that runs on nothing other than dreams —
You Madam, can you not verify the beauty of
its hands and face, and you Sir, heft it,
yes hold it close to your ear and listen . . .

What? You hang back? Oh Ladies & Gentlemen,
do my mere words convey some cheapness?
Must I boast of the moving jewels in its heart?
Step up! Step up! I promise you, my friends,
that loss of hope for love and happiness alone
destroys the precious jeweled movement
of this incomparable timepiece, poetry . . .

Yes, I confess everything, my friends, take off
my false mustache, my stagewax ears and nose,
disperse *my* bogus dollar bills among you all;
that was just a ruse to make you gather round.
But there is still this amazing clock, you see,
still these dreams stuck tight in my skull —
and poetry, persistent as a foot in the door.

Belief is a bargain, but believe what you will;
for my people and my poems, the transient loves
I have suffered in city after city, and my vigils,
the golden watches I keep nightlong and lonely
will continue to haunt me from corner to corner.

For your dreams rewind my poetical watch,
your hope restores my dreaming huckster's tongue,
and love revives my hopeful bloom of innocence.
The coast is crystal clear; you can begin.

S. K. Oberbeck is on the staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch. He has published in little and other magazines, and was represented in an Anthology of College Poets published by Twain Publishers.

Depression /

ROBERT BLY

I felt my heart beat like an engine high in the air,
Like those scaffolding engines standing only on planks;
My body hung about me like an old grain elevator,

Useless, clogged, full of blackened wheat.
My body was sour, my life dishonest, and I fell asleep.
I dreamt that men came toward me, carrying thin wires;
I felt the wires pass in, like fire; they were old Tibetans,
Dressed in padded cloths, to keep out cold;
Then three work gloves, laying fingers to fingers
In a circle, came toward me, and I awoke.

Now I want to go back among the dark roots;
Now I want to see the day pulling its long wing;
I want to see nothing more than two feet high;
I want to see no one, I want to say nothing,
I want to go down and rest in the black earth of silence.

Approaching Winter /

ROBERT BLY

September. Clouds. The first day for wearing jackets.
The corn is wandering in dark corridors,
Near the well and the whisper of tombs.

II

I sit alone, surrounded by dry corn,
Near the second growth of the pigweeds,
And hear the corn leaves scrape their feet on the wind.

III

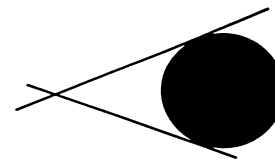
Ears are lying on the dusty earth.
The useful ears will lie dry in cribs, but the others, missed
By the picker, will lie here touching the ground the whole winter

IV

Winter will come, and cover the husks of the fallen ears
With flakes infinitely delicate, like the jewels of a murdered Goth,
Which were lost centuries ago during a great battle.

Poems by Robert Bly, copyright 1962 by Robert Bly.

Robert Bly is the editor and publisher of The Sixtieth. His poems have been published in many magazines and his first collection, "Silence in the Snowy Fields," is being published in the Wesleyan University series.



BOOKS

Self-Appraisal In The South?

WE DISSENT, edited by *Hoke Norris*. (St. Martin's Press, \$4.95, 210 pp.)

W. J. Cash in "Mind of the South" suggests that a new critical self-awareness evidenced itself in the South early in this century, and he presents considerable information to support his claim. Yet following the recent violent reactions of Little Rock, New Orleans, and Oxford to school integration, and the mob brutality and politically bombastic rhetoric following the Freedom Rides, one might well wonder how viable, how influential, the spirit of sanity and critical self-appraisal is in the South.

"We Dissent" reassures that the South is not a monolithic culture of naive agrarianism, rabidly hypocritical states-rightism, and fierce racial bigotry and repression. Thirteen essays, all by Southern-born, Southern-raised, white Protestants, insist that there is not just one South, but many Souths. Yet the many does not deny the one. There is *a* South. And this book of essays helps us to believe that this South is not absolutely committed to the agony of its own doom, fascinating as that might be when described in the hypnotic cadences of the great "I Am" of Yoknapotawpha County.

As Hoke Norris, editor of "We Dissent," says in his preface, not all of the writers represented agree; thus every reader will pick out some pieces as more apt, more perceptive than others. There are several nationally familiar commentators on the problems of the South: Ralph McGill, Thomas Clark, Jonathan Daniels, Hodding Carter, Gov. LeRoy Collins, James McBride Dabbs, and Paul Green. These speak in this volume with their familiar voices and they make a far more pleasant chorus — even considering the discordant slushy sentimentality of Dabbs and the 1920ish, crudely raucous individualism of Green — than the hysterical

stridencies of Faubus, Patterson, Barnett, *et al* who have unfortunately been center stage so repeatedly of late.

But the two best essays in this collection are by none of these. One is by Hoke Norris, literary critic of the *Chicago Sun-Times*. The other is by Kathleen Keen Sinnett, native of Memphis, graduate of the University of Mississippi and now teacher of psychology and sociology at Washburn in Topeka.

Mr. Norris's piece, "Red Roses and Redstones" is a first-class newspaper article for which he returned to the South visiting principally Georgia, Alabama (just after the Freedom Ride) and North Carolina. People of all kinds are quoted and facts big and small observed. One feels the scene. Finally all the elements fall precisely and inevitably into position. One understands that "The South has lived on its dreams; and the dreams have now become nightmares at bus stations."

Miss Sinnett's piece is less occasional, at once both more personal and more general. She tells a representative story of an attempt she made as a student at Ole Miss to break the pattern of racial discrimination by addressing the principal of a Negro school as Mister rather than using the socially prescribed weasel word, *Professor*. She didn't make it. But her attempt and its personal consequences now seem as familiar to the South as black-bottom pie.

The South, as many of these writers point out, is a matter of national and not merely Southern concern. The movement of Southerners of both races to Northern and Western cities and the resultant social problems is one evidence frequently cited. But Miss Sinnett pungently points to another reason why the South must be understood by more than Southerners. She notes that the Northerner wishing to defend the Negro calls the white Southerner, "stupid, lazy . . . , arrogant, Negro-hating, provincial, sadistic, immoral." The white Southerner is quite capable of seeing the

inconsistencies in the Northerner's righteousness and tells him so. "This process is a highly effective distraction, and if we persist in it, the black man's rights can be forever lost in irrelevant acrimony between two kinds of white men."

Compared to another, and much previous, collection of essays by white Southerners, "I'll Take My Stand" Hoke Norris's "We Dissent" is much more healthily eclectic and national in its perspective. Yet, as in its predecessor, there is an insistence that the South, despite its many and obvious social problems, stands for something of value which needs to be preserved in our national life. Miss Sinnett touches the note commonly sounded in this collection: "And I hope that the new South will have found some way to preserve its traditional view that what lies in a man's heart is more significant than what lies in his pocket."

There is need in both North and South for such discussion as "We Dissent" presents. Hoke Norris aptly gives the reason: "For the nation, as for the individual, the unexamined life is not only not worth living; it may in fact be impossible to live it at all much longer."

Robert Farnsworth

A Poet Of Life And Letters

THE DRAWBRIDGE, *Donald F. Drummond*. (Alan Swallow, \$2.50, 58 pp.)

An unusual and welcome feature of this impressive new book of poems is what one comes to first: a disarmingly frank statement of intention and a helpful summary of past influences which serve as a preface. Here Mr. Drummond gratefully acknowledges his debt to Yvor Winters and indicates his wish to inhabit a poetic land similar to that charted by Winters in his criticism.

Some of the characteristics of this land, shunned by the latter-day symbolists but steadily gaining in favor

OF A TEACHER

The scholar is a cause and not an end,
Though ignorance prospers, and the uncontrolled
Lie on ten thousand couches, I am told,
Seeking a father in the common trend;

Yet this: a scholar whom time could not bend,
Being case-hardened and Damascus cold
Was a thin foil to parry for the bold
And for the strong, a sure and valued friend.

For all those couches will not yield so much
Meaning and action in the lengthening day;
The minds he girded, first as an oaken crutch,
Then as a rapier guarding the long way
To motion and to being, felt the touch
Of buttoned blade and found the words to say

SWARM

They always do the acts they think,
Through these they stay alive.
And while I have another drink
They build another hive.

The workers work, the queens are queens.
They love and breed and die
While drones have killed each other in
Emptiness of sky.
I am the man of quiet. I
Defy biology
And seek in symbols, salt and dry
The end of prophecy:
Not these, not these, the wiser are
They who do their art,
Committing and committed by
What they start.

from THE DRAWBRIDGE
Donald F. Drummond

these days, Drummond states succinctly.

People, ideas, and poems form the poet's experience inextricably. They provide the stuff he shapes, the form he employs, the objectives he seeks They have led me to seek the simplest whole expression I can achieve in a world which seems to me neither simple, whole, nor self-expressive Poetry should be the most unified, the most harmonious, the clearest expression possible. It should understand the experience with which it deals . . . in those human terms which are most universal, most deeply held, most necessary for our continued existence. Poetry has some correspondence to the best of human experience, and the simple exposition of private emotion is not quite the same

thing I dislike the expressionism which exhibits without judging, and which substitutes intensity for craft."

The risks attending a preface which is also a manifesto are great and it has long been unfashionable to take them. But Drummond's work fares well indeed, especially by his own special standards. Certainly it breaks with the Eliot-Pound-Stevens-MacLeish tradition, though perhaps a little too self-consciously in places. Some

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of the cleverest poems in the book, such as "The Widening Gyre" with its references to (and quotations from) Yeats, Eliot, and Stevens, suffer from what entertainers call the "inside joke." As a result, readers who do not recall "The Second Coming," "The Waste Land," and "Sunday Morning" will probably miss the implied criticism of fashionable poets and poetic methods. Those who do not know Dylan Thomas's "The force that through the green fuse drives the flower" will not fully appreciate Drummond's four dizzying variations of that line in "After D.T.'s."

There is nothing indirect, however, when the poet makes his critical position the subject of "The State of Verse in Winter."

Juxtaposition substitutes for thought

Among my peers. Admire the overwrought,
The painful circumscription of a phrase
And you'll be talked about for days and days.

. . . .
My muse may starve, my muse may go away.
But she'll not see me in a black beret.

Enough. The art is tough; the art will not
Perish out of hand by tommyrot.
This generation will produce its men
Who love and hold and even use the pen

Obviously, this poet is attempting something like the job being carried on these days by John Canaday, the art critic, in the world of painting.

But Drummond is a poet of life as well as of letters, and even in this small book his range is wide. Praise for a great teacher; the essence of a university, considered in retrospect; the inevitability of growing old and the gifts that age can bring; the man of action *versus* the man of art; a father who had been imperfectly appreciated in the poet's youth; the sensations of flight; the implications of space-probes; disappointment in love; the relevance of religious symbols; these are the subjects of a few of the better poems.

What distinguishes all of the poems is the writer's obvious delight in precision of expression and subtlety of form. There is not a careless stanza in the book. The all-too-common free verse with flabby lines arranged on the page with meaningless eccentricity gives way here to expertly wrought

structure: sometimes a sonnet, sometimes a short stanza with lines of effectively diminishing length giving the last short line real emphasis and sting, rhyming patterns which give their material a terse vitality.

Yet, for all its excellence, one cannot but feel a weakness in the book. Perhaps it can be indicated by saying that the poems seem too often to be "academic." Perhaps the poet has to a degree been victimized by both his university faculty status (Missouri) and his somewhat rigidly "classical" aesthetic objectives. One hopes always that a fresh lyricism, an impulse to creation that is vital not scholastic, will inform the poems even of college teachers. Technical mastery, wit, perceptiveness, knowledge: these are not enough if they do not add up to the almost indefinable but always recognizable "poetry."

Robert D. Faner

Survival Mark Of Jewish History

JEWS, GOD AND HISTORY, by
Max I. Dimont. (Simon and Schuster. \$7.50, 463 pp.)

The author of this book, a lecturer prominent in the St. Louis area for many years, presents some of the more salient features of Jewish history in a well-written single volume. Mr. Dimont makes three important points, all bearing on Jewish survival: (one) the Jews have been an intellectual and spiritual force in the world for 3000 years; (two) without a country of their own the Jews have preserved ethnic identity during all this time; and (three) they have expressed their ideas not only in their language, but in practically all major languages of the world (except the Asian, I would point out). He also indicates that there have been a number of crucial challenges to Jewish survival, to which, in Toynbeeian fashion, he presents the Jewish responses: The challenge of the Pagan world, to which the Jews responded with religion; the Greco-Roman world, to which the Jews responded with humanism; the Diaspora to which the Jews responded with the Talmud; Islam, to which the Jews responded with philosophy; the Middle Ages, to which the Jews responded with economics; and the modern age, to which the Jews have responded with contributions in theoretic science.

In this same enumerative fashion he lists eight ways of looking at history: as unrelated events, as politics,

as geography, as economics, as a series of psychological portraits, as philosophy (in the nature of Hegel and Toynbee), as hero thesis and as religion. To Dimont the last is the dynamic principle of Jewish history.

He is concerned with the problem of "great Jews and Jews who are great," by which is meant Jews who are great through their contributions to Judaism and Jews who contribute to the world in general and only minimally to Jewish being. Thus two of the greatest Jews were Jesus and Marx in terms of their effect on world thought. He is also of the belief that Spinoza initiated a new era in Jewish thinking, and one expects to find Marx, Freud, and Einstein listed as Spinozists, but not the historian Leopold Zunz. But Mr. Dimont is convinced that Zunz displays Spinozistic rationalism in his historical investigations. If so, it could only have come through Hegel, who himself tried to grapple with Spinoza.

Mr. Dimont's is a thoughtful book, and although specialists in the several areas might quibble at some of the generalizations (such as comparing the "Kitab Al-Khazari" to the "Book of Job") and with some of the factual data, the final impression is one of care and concern.

"Jews, God and History" does not replace Baron, Margolis-Marx, or even Sachar or Grayzel, but it is much better than the run-of-the mill one volume histories.



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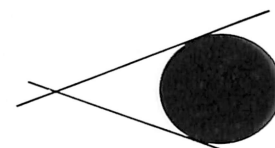
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THE ARTS



DRAMA & OPERA

Official bulletins of the Kansas City LYRIC OPERA, St. Louis AUGUST OPERA FESTIVAL, St. Louis CIVIC OPERA ASSOCIATION, St. Louis GRAND OPERA GUILD, Kansas City CIRCLE THEATRE, University of Kansas City PLAYHOUSE, Kansas City RESIDENT THEATRE.

There is something of a temptation these days in Kansas City to think that, because of a number of breakthroughs on the theatrical and operatic scene the city is to enter into its rightful inheritance of beauty and truth.

This kind of euphoria was in the air at the Circle Theatre at the start of the present season in view of the astonishing success of "The Fantasticks." Here was a show which was relatively unknown except to dedicated theatre-goers, a musical without stars and certainly with no hit songs. Moreover, it was singularly difficult to publicize (what can you say about it other than that it is a delightful piece of whimsy?). Yet after a slow beginning "The Fantasticks" went on to break all records, even those made by "The Three-penny Opera" last spring.

Following the success of the first four weeks after which it had to be withdrawn to make way for "Toys in the Attic," "The Fantasticks" was brought back for an extra two weeks at Christmas at the Circle Theatre.

The Circle Theatre policy of offering a balanced season will be on trial with the production of "Twelfth Night." It will be Kansas City's first commercial production of Shakespeare in a long time. Though the Circle is making a strenuous bid for school support through special group rates, the play's success will still stand or fall by its acceptance in the community as a whole.

Michael Newton

A couple of issues ago we expressed in this space a few thoughts on styles
February, 1963

of operatic production and, in particular, on the sort of opera that might be meaningful for mid-twentieth-century St. Louisans. Now, with much discussion warming the winter air of St. Louis about the possible establishment of a resident theatre here, we should once again like to make an observation or two — completely at random and unsolicited, certainly well considered, but of course without any authoritativeness.

In recent months we have been fortunate to meet and talk at some length with two highly experienced and brilliant men of the theatre. One was Morris Carnovsky, the eminent actor, director, and Shakespearean specialist, a man whose love of (and love presupposes respect) the theatre seems to be exceeded only by his love of humanity. The other was Alan Schneider, the dynamic, thoughtful director whose recent staging of Edward Albee's play "Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf?" is one of the important successes of the current Broadway season.

One major point, among many others, emerged clearly from the splendid multitude of ideas formulated by both men. Schneider said that the best (although not the only) way for a community to acquire a resident theatre is for the people of that community who work in, or are devoted to, theatre to want it so badly that they will sacrifice everything to bring it into being themselves and then to nurture it as it develops to maturity. Carnovsky used the words "organic" and "grass roots" to denote his meanings.

The danger both men reflected and implied in their words lies in the superimposition of a theatre that does not really answer to the needs and aspirations of the people of a city. If a theatrical company is basically imported — in terms of concept, philosophy, and method of operation, rather than in terms of personnel — it cannot be wholly responsive to the unspoken wishes of the community. The company should not be set up astride the community, it should grow out of the community.

"Impetus" and "growth" are the key words. The theatre should be formed as a natural response to a proper and undeniable demand; it should then grow naturally and organically and slowly, learning and building and changing. An imported company could, perhaps, through the use of the star system and a clever selection of flashy plays, achieve a bright and temporary success at once. But such a success would merely duplicate that of the touring road shows. A resident theatre should, through gradual growth, become so intrinsic a part of the artistic life of the community that it will seem to have always been there.

Edward Corn



MUSIC

Official bulletins of the Kansas City CONSERVATORY OF MUSIC, St. Louis CIVIC MUSIC LEAGUE, and St. Louis NEW MUSIC CIRCLE.

The year of the Missouri Compromise, 1820, saw the publication of one of the most popular early American tune books, "The Missouri Harmony." A copy of this original edition is to be found in the Snyder Collection of Americana of the Library of the University of Kansas City.

Allen D. Carden, the compiler of "The Missouri Harmony," based his work on two earlier books from the East, John Wyeth's "Repository of Sacred Music" and Little and Smith's "The Easy Instructor." The borrowed material was used in the first part of "Missouri Harmony," which consisted of the rudiments of music, an explanation of the shaped note system, and a dictionary of musical terms. The second part consisted of hymns, songs, and fusing tunes.

"Missouri Harmony" found wide use from the Mississippi valley to Virginia. Carl Sandburg in "The American Songbag" tells of Lincoln's

use of "Missouri Harmony" and of how he parodied "Legacy," one of the folk songs in it. "Greenfields," a song based on the words "How tedious and tasteless the hours, when Jesus no longer I see," is also reported to be a Lincoln favorite. This song is still widely sung. Of the 174 songs in this first edition some 74 are still to be found in the modern shape note tune book "Original Sacred Harp." Of these, nine songs are to be found recorded on the Library of Congress folk series (AAFS LII) edited by George P. Jackson. It was Jackson who rediscovered the beauties of shape note songs and books in the 1930s. His "White Spirituals in the Southern Uplands" remains the standard text on the subject.

The year 1835 saw the issuance of a new edition of "Missouri Harmony" containing a supplement by an anonymous amateur. This edition continued to be reprinted until 1850, when a revision by C. Warren appeared, who "corrected" the mistakes of the earlier editions.

In 1853, the New England composer and tune book compiler Isaac Baker Woodbury brought out a shape note tune book "The Harp of the South" which contained a score of tunes from "Missouri Harmony" and many of his own compositions.

The music in "Missouri Harmony" is arranged in two, three, and four voice parts. The sacred songs range from the traditional Psalm tunes, such as "Old Hundred," known today as the melody to "Praise God from whom all blessings flow," to the familiar Christmas tune, "Portuguese Hymn," to the current words, "O come, all ye faithful."

William Billings, who used Paul Revere as his engraver, is represented in "Missouri Harmony" by five of his fusing tunes. These amazing compositions begin with harmonic section with an imitative section following. The voices enter one at a time, often from the lowest to the highest, building in volume and excitement. The words repeated over and over also heightens the effect. This musical style was widely practiced in New England, but during the 19th century, under the German influence, brought over with the mass immigration of continental musicians, the fusing tune fell into disrepute.

Texts to the fusing tunes were often original with the composers and based on Scripture. The various metrical versions of the Psalms supplied some composers their inspira-

tion, while others used the texts of Isaac Watts, Timothy Dwight, and the somewhat later Reginald Heber.

Allen D. Carden compiled his book for use in teaching singing classes in St. Louis. Apparently the songs were sung without accompaniment. The *fa, sol, law, and mi* syllables of the Lancashire *Sol-fa* system, a relic of Shakespeare's time, are normally sung through first. Then follows the various stanzas of words. The supplement provides accompaniment to some of the longer pieces.

In the hundred years since the Woodbury attempt to capitalize on "Missouri Harmony's" success, no new editions have been printed, and it is quite rare to find any library listing copies of this venerable book. However, one edition is available on micro-cards, which require a special reading machine for use. Sandburg mentions several pages, including a portion of the title page of the 1835 revision.

The University of Kansas City Library has copies of the 1820, the 1841, and the 1835 revision. It is hoped that one day sufficient interest in Missouri's musical legacy will be generated to warrant publication of "Missouri Harmony" again.

Jack L. Ralston



FINE ARTS

Official bulletin of the Kansas City ART INSTITUTE AND SCHOOL OF DESIGN. Bulletins by the ST. LOUIS ARTISTS' GUILD have been exclusively accredited to FOCUS/Midwest.

Excerpt from the commencement address by Dr. Harold Taylor to the Kansas City Art Institute and School of Design:

"One of the difficulties in contemporary America is that we tend to take other people's experience as a substitute for our own. We are quite likely to submit to the art critics or the movie critics or the drama critics, and we have a kind of frightened attitude in failing to assert our own aesthetic judgments or even our moral judgments because we don't know what is the prevailing opinion. We wait for the Museum of Modern Art to tell us whether a chair is a suitable one for us to buy before we will sit down in it. We tend to wait for someone to tell us what new movement in the contemporary arts is possible for us to enjoy before giving ourselves the privilege of en-

joyment.

Until we have worked deeply within the arts themselves and within the sciences themselves, we are unable to make up our minds as to what they mean and to confront the world with our own private judgment. Those who have worked deeply within the arts know what it means to be an artist, know what aesthetic values are from working with them daily and working with their hands and with their minds without separating the two."

Tanasko and Catherine Milovich, noted artists and teachers, were honored by about 200 members of the St. Louis Artist Guild and personal friends. Milovich is well known for his unusual ability in producing imaginative, colorful batics, often based on themes from Serbian legends. He is equally at home at the easel as in designing mosaics.

Milovich came to the United States from Serbia when 14 years of age. He was a member of the Zeraich clan, a number of whom were young Bosnian revolutionists, including his father. On June 2, 1914, a member of the clan assassinated Grand Duke Ferdinand of Austria at Sarajevo, an act that triggered World War I. Tanasko's family left for America.

In the States, Milovich developed a great interest in art and when 21 entered the St. Louis School of Fine Arts. After five years of study, Milovich spent two years in Paris at the Academie Colorossi and with Jean Marchand at the Academie Moderne.

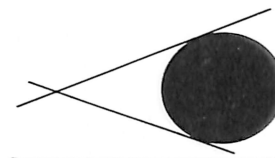
Through the years, he has won many important prizes and has been represented in major shows in America and Europe. His works are in private and museum collections from Honolulu to Sarajevo, where seven of his paintings and batiks hang in the National Serbian Museum.

Milovich taught private classes and taught the making of batiks at the Washington University School of Fine Arts in 1933-34. He returned to the school to teach painting from 1944-60. He now teaches drawing at the University.

Mrs. Milovich, formerly Catherine Estelle Ehrmann, is a well-known lecturer on art education. For 24 years she was Director of Art Education for Ritenour Consolidated School District. Mrs. Milovich is now Assistant Professor of Art, Southern Illinois University, Southwestern Campus. She has exhibited widely and has held a number of one-man shows.

William J. Sims

FOCUS/Midwest



VOTING RECORDS OF AREA LEGISLATORS

Congress

A. ELECTION OF THE SPEAKER of the House of Representatives for the 88th Congress. Nominees were Reps. John W. McCormack Jr. (D. Mass.), Speaker since Jan., 1962, and Charles A. Halleck (R. Ind.), Minority Leader for the first time in the 86th Congress. McCormack was elected, 256-175: Jan. 9, 1963. An "M" represents a vote for McCormack, an "H" a vote for Halleck.

B. H. Res. 5. PERMANENTLY 'ENLARGE THE HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE from 12 members to 15 members. Albert (D. Okla.) motion to consider the previous question, cutting off debate and precluding amendments. Motion agreed to 249-183: R 0-176; D 249-7 (ND 151-1; SD 98-6), Jan. 9, 1963. A "yea" supported the President's position.

C. H. Res. 5. ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION. Adopted 235-196: R 28-148; D 207-48 (ND 148-3; SD 59-45), Jan. 9, 1963. A "yea" supported the President's position.

Dist. Representatives

MISSOURI		A	B	C
5	Richard Bolling (D)	M	Y	Y
9	Clarence Cannon (D)	M	Y	Y
6	W. R. Hull, Jr. (D)	M	Y	Y
8	Richard H. Ichord (D)	M	Y	Y
10	Paul C. Jones (D)	M	Y	Y
1	Frank M. Karsten (D)	M	Y	Y
4	William J. Randall (D)	M	Y	Y
3	Leonor K. Sullivan (D)	M	Y	Y
2	Thomas B. Curtis (R)	H	N	N
7	Durward G. Hall (R)	H	N	N

ILLINOIS

		A	B	C
21	Kenneth J. Gray (D)	M	Y	Y
24	C. Melvin Price (D)	M	Y	Y
23	George E. Shipley (D)	M	Y	Y
16	John B. Anderson (R)	H	N	N
17	Leslie C. Arends (R)	H	N	N
20	Paul Findley (R)	H	N	N
14	Elmer J. Hoffman (R)	H	N	N
12	Robert McClory (R)	H	N	N
19	Robert T. McLoskey (R)	H	N	N
18	Robert H. Michel (R)	H	N	N
15	Charlotte T. Reid (R)	H	N	N
22	William L. Springer (R)	H	N	N

Chicago

1	William L. Dawson (D)	M	Y	Y
9	Edward R. Finnegan (D)	M	Y	Y
5	John C. Kluczynski (D)	M	Y	Y
7	Roland V. Libonati (D)	M	Y	Y
3	William T. Murphy (D)	M	Y	Y
6	Thomas J. O'Brien (D)	M	Y	Y
2	Barratt O'Hara (D)	M	Y	Y
11	Roman C. Pucinski (D)	M	Y	Y
8	Dan Rostenkowski (D)	M	Y	Y
10	Harold R. Collier (R)	H	N	N
4	Edward J. Derwinski (R)	H	N	N
13	Donald Rumsfeld (R)	H	N	N

Key to Symbols:

Y—Voting for the Bill	AY—Announced for the Bill
N—Voting against the Bill	AN—Announced against the Bill
PY—Paired for the Bill	A—Absent, or General Pair
PN—Paired against the Bill	

States

Readers of FOCUS/Midwest are acquainted with our coverage of congressional votes. In future issues we will also present the voting records of the General Assemblies of Illinois and Missouri. This will enable our readers to judge legislators in future elections. The most important votes can only be included because of the great number of roll calls. For example, in Illinois some 1,700 rollcalls occurred in the House during the 1961 regular session. The chart below presents the names, addresses, party affiliations, and area represented. Readers are urged to retain this copy because future issues will only feature the last name of the legislators without any further identification.

MISSOURI

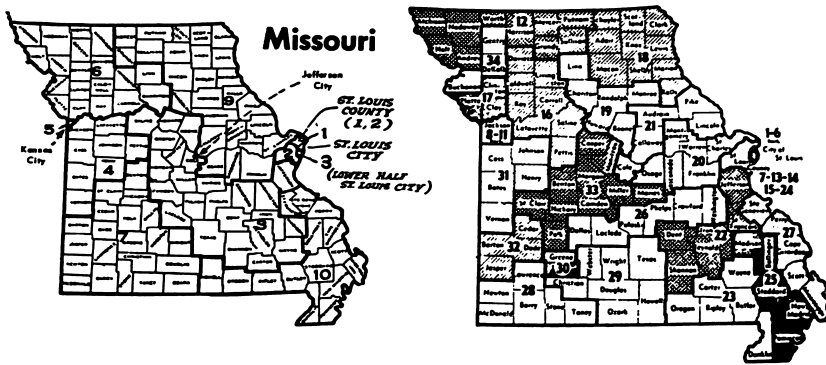
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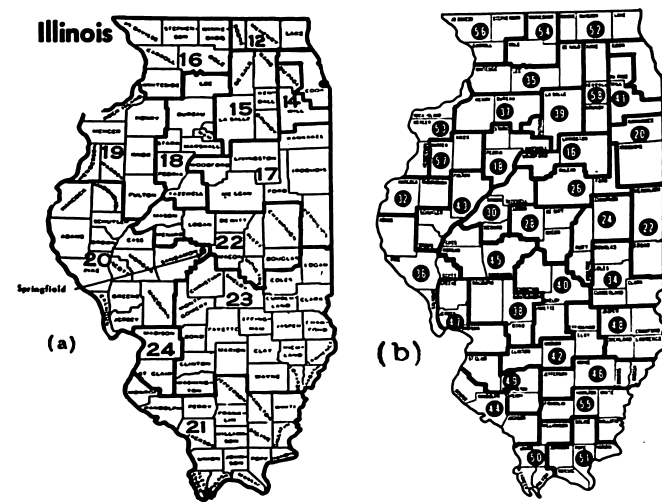
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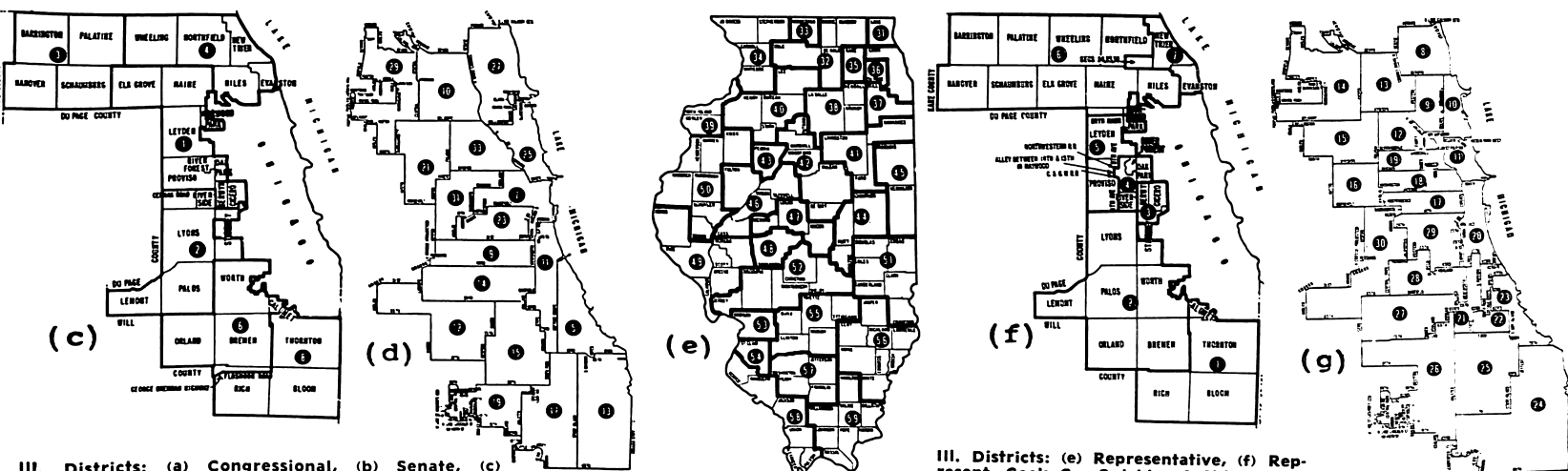
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Osage	R	Stephen H. Zeilmann, Linn
Ozark	R	Henry Gault, Gainesville
Pemiscott	D	Charles W. Foley, Hayti
Perry	R	Martin P. Degenhardt, Rte. 5, Perryville
Pettis	D	Thomas T. Keating, 1102 West 3rd, Sedalia
Phelps	D	Mel Carnahan, 3rd & Rolla St., Rolla
Pike	D	Paul E. Williams, Bowling Green
Platte	D	Wm. "Bill" Fickle, 7406 Tomahawk Lane, Parkville
Polk	R	Elva D. Mann, Aldrich
Pulaski	D	Chris C. Cole, Crocker
Putnam	R	Marple S. Wyckoff, Unionville
Ralls	D	O. R. Jackson, Perry
Randolph	D	Herman G. Kidd, Jacksonville
Ray	D	W. Roy Groce, Richmond
Reynolds	D	James G. Skaggs, Ellington
Ripley	R	Paul Simon, Rte 2, Doniphan
St. Charles	D	Omer J. Dames, Rte. 1, Box 65, O'Fallon
St. Clair	D	Morrin D. Harris, Osceola
St. Francois	D	Raymond R. Roberts, Jr., Farmington
Ste. Genevieve	D	Clyde F. Portell, 14 Washington, Ste. Genevieve
St. Louis:		
1st Dist.	D	James "Jay" Russell, 700 Bellarmine Ln., Florissant
2nd Dist.	D	Patrick J. O'Connor, 3845 Brittany Acs., Bridgeton
3rd Dist.	D	Patrick J. Hickey, 4508 St. Leo Ln., St. Ann
4th Dist.	D	Walter L. Meyer, 9495 Yorktown, St. L. 37
5th Dist.	D	Wayne Goode, 7322 Ravinia Dr., St. L. 21
6th Dist.	D	E. J. Cantrell, 3406 Airway, St. L. 14
7th Dist.	D	Irvin R. Zwiabman, 8216 Braddock Dr., St. L. 32
8th Dist.	D	Kenneth J. Rothman, 6815 Plymouth Ave., St. L. 30
9th Dist.	D	Peter J. J. Rabbitt, 7720 Suffolk, St. L. 19
10th Dist.	D	R. J. "Bus" King, Jr., 39 Ridgemoor Dr., Clayton 5
11th Dist.	R	Robert O. Snyder, 241 E. Argonne Dr., Kirkwood 22
12th Dist.	R	Alfred A. Speer, 840 Alexandra, Glendale 22
13th Dist.	R	Frank Bild, 9234 Gravois, St. Louis 23
14th Dist.	D	Donald J. Gralike, 112 Buckley Meadows, St. L. 25
Saline	D	James Spainhower, Marshall
Schuyler	R	Marvel G. Gosser, Lancaster
Scotland	R	Felix Gunnell, Memphis
Scott	D	Les D. Lankford, 109 Main, Chaffee
Shannon	D	V. M. Baltz, Eminence
Shelby	D	Jennie Chinn, Shelbyville
Shelby	D	Tom F. Baker, Rt. 1, Essex
Stoddard	D	Luther Arnold, Reeds Spring
Stone	R	Fred Stutler, Milan
Sullivan	D	Vernon M. James, Branson
Taney	R	Earl L. Sponsler, RFD 2, Cabool
Texas	D	Lynn M. Ewing, Jr., Country Club Dr., Nevada
Vernon	R	William T. Zimmerman, Warrenton
Warren	D	Wm. F. "Buck" Casey, Potosi
Washington	D	I. W. Henson, Mill Spring
Wayne	D	Donald D. Davis, Niangua
Webster	R	H. F. "Hoot" Holland, Sheridan
Worth	R	Garner L. Moody, Mansfield
Wright	R	
St. Louis City:		
1st Dist.	D	Harry C. Raiffie, 720 Eastgate, St. L. 30
2nd Dist.	D	Paul M. Berra, 4945a Daggett, St. L. 10
3rd Dist.	D	James E. Godfrey, 6959 Hi View Ave., St. L. 19
4th Dist.	D	Buddy Kay, 2639 Keokuk, St. Louis 18
5th Dist.	D	Joseph W. Beckerle, 4111 Wyoming St., St. L. 16
6th Dist.	D	Frank E. Kostron, 2812 Texas Ave., St. L. 18
7th Dist.	D	Ben Misbauer, 2253a Gravois Ave., St. Louis 4
8th Dist.	D	Richard J. Rabbitt, 4163 Laclede Ave., St. L. 8
9th Dist.	D	James "Pal" Troupe Sr., 2027 Franklin Ave., St. L. 6
10th Dist.	D	Hugh J. White, 3952 Page Blvd., St. L. 13
11th Dist.	D	Thomas A. Walsh, 1709 Monroe St., St. L. 6
12th Dist.	D	John P. O'Reilly, 4159 Penrose St., St. L. 15
13th Dist.	D	DeVerne Lee Calloway, 4441 Kennerly Ave., St. L. 13
14th Dist.	D	Wm. R. "Bill" Connors, 5045a N. Kingshighway, St. L. 15
15th Dist.	D	John Conley, Jr., 5852 Wabada Ave., St. L. 12



Ill. Districts: (a) Congressional, (b) Senate, (c) Sen. Cook Co. Outside of Chicago, (d) Senate City of Chicago.

Ill. Districts: (e) Representative, (f) Represent. Cook Co. Outside of Chicago, (g) Represent. City of Chicago.

ILLINOIS

SENATORS

Dist	County	Party	Name and Address
1	Cook	R	Arthur J. Bidwell, 1403 Bonnie Brae, River Forest
2	Cook	R	Arthur W. Sprague, 345 S. Spring Ave., LaGrange
3	Cook	R	John A. Graham, 715 S. Cook, Barrington
4	Cook	R	W. Russell Arrington, 929 Edgemere Court, Evanston
5	Cook	D	Nathan J. Kinnally, 7234 S. Paxton Ave., Chicago
6	Cook	R	Frank M. Ozinga, 9626 S. Homan Ave., Evergreen
7	Cook	D	Anthony J. DeTolve, 1038 S. Sangamon, Chicago
8	Cook	R	Arthur R. Gottschalk, 320 Marquette St., Park Forest
9	Cook	D	Morgan M. Finley, 3550 S. Lowe Ave., Chicago
10	Cook	D	Seymour Fox, 5732 N. Kerbs Ave., Chicago
11	Cook	D	Fred J. Smith, 4949 S. South Parkway, Chicago
12	Cook	D	Edmund G. Sweeney, 7928 S. California Ave., Chicago
13	Cook	D	Daniel Dougherty, 1957 E. 93rd St., Chicago
14	Cook	D	Donald J. O'Brien, 1102 West Garfield Blvd., Chicago
15	Cook	D	A. L. Cronin, 9546 S. Oakley Ave., Chicago
16	Livingstone	R	William C. Harris, 709 S. Vermillion St., Pontiac
17	Cook	R	Arthur R. Swanson, 12556 S. Harvard Ave., Chicago
18	Peoria	R	Hudson R. Sours, 2623 W. Moss Ave., Peoria
19	Cook	R	Robert F. Hatch, 10615 S. Fairfield Ave., Chicago
20	Iroquois	R	Samuel L. Martin, 324 Coney Ave., Watseka
21	Cook	D	Thomas A. McGloin, 5964 W. Adams Blvd., Chicago
22	Vermilion	R	John P. Meyer, 1631 Oak Street, Danville
23	Cook	D	Frank J. Kocarek, 1718 S. Loomis, Chicago
24	Champaign	R	Everett R. Peters, 501 S. Fifth St., St. Joseph
25	Cook	D	Joseph L. De La Cour, 185 E. Chestnut St., Chicago
26	McLean	R	David Davis, 1114 E. Monroe St., Bloomington
27	Cook	D	Robert E. Cherry, 4300 N. Marine Dr., Chicago
28	Logan	D	Robert W. McCarthy, 555 Eleventh St., Lincoln
29	Cook	R	Walter P. Hoffelder, 5641 N. Mango Ave., Chicago
30	Tazewell	R	Egbert B. Groen, 3 Rosewood Lane, Pekin
31	Cook	D	Bernard S. Neistein, 4128 W. Van Buren St., Chicago
32	McDonough	R	T. MacDowning, 1111 W. Adams St., Macomb
33	Cook	D	Thad L. Kusibab, 2043 W. Augusta Blvd., Chicago
34	Coles	R	Paul (Red) Graham, 116 Wabash Ave., Mattoon
35	DeKalb	R	Dennis J. Collins, 545 Northern Lane, DeKalb
36	Adams	R	Lillian E. Schlagenhauf, 418 S. 18th, Quincy
37	Bureau	R	Joseph R. Peterson, 1309 S. Main St., Princeton
38	Macoupin	D	William "Bill" Lyons, 501 E. Elm, Gillespie
39	LaSalle	R	Fred J. Hart, 501 W. Bluff St., Streator
40	Shelby	D	Edward C. Eberspacher, 219 N. Washington St., Shelbyville
41	DuPage	R	Harris W. Fawell, 620 Wehrli Dr., Naperville
42	Marion	R	Dwight P. Friedrich, 915 Frazier, Centralia
43	Fulton	D	Robert A. "Bob" Welch, 49 W. Birch St., Canton

44	Jackson	R	John G. Gilbert, 513 W. Walnut St., Carbondale
45	Sangamon	R	George E. Drach, 1524 Noble Ave., Springfield
46	Jefferson	R	Paul W. Broyles, Mt. Vernon
47	Madison	D	Paul Simon, 306 E. Market, Troy
48	Crawford	R	Mrs. Madge (Herschel S.) Green, 509 W. Grand Prairie, Palestine
49	St. Clair	D	Alan J. Dixon, 415 McKinley Dr., Belleville
50	Williamson	D	William L. Grindle, 216 Circle Dr., Herrin
51	Massac	R	Gordon E. Kerr, Brookport
52	Lake	R	Robert Coulson, 1031 Pacific Ave., Waukegan
53	Rock Island	R	Donald D. Carpentier, 477-27th Ave., East Moline
54	Winnebago	R	Robert R. Canfield, R.R. No. 4, Rockford
55	White	D	Paul A. Ziegler, 700 Second St., Carmi
56	Stephenson	R	Everett E. Laughlin, 1611 Parkside Court, Freeport
57	Knox	R	Richard R. "Dick" Larson, 694 Bateman St., Galesburg
58	Kane	R	Merritt J. Little, 227 S. Elmwood Dr., Aurora

REPRESENTATIVES

1	Cook	R	Jack E. Walker, 18018 Arcadia, Lansing
	Cook	R	Edwin A. McGowan, 21 W. 150th St., Harvey
	Cook	D	Anthony Scariano, 38 W. Rocket Circle, Park Forest
2	Cook	R	Terrel E. Clarke, 4070 Central Ave., Western Springs
	Cook	R	Don A. Moore, 14636 S. Long Ave., Midlothian
	Cook	D	Frank X. Downey, 5085 Lamb Dr., Oak Lawn
3	Cook	R	George E. Dolezal, 7010 34th St., Berwyn
	Cook	R	Frank A. Marek, 5434 W. 31st St., Cicero
	Cook	D	Paul G. Ceaser, 3622 S. Oak Park Ave., Berwyn
4	Cook	R	Richard A. Walsh, 1003 N. Elmwood Ave., Oak Park
	Cook	R	Claude A. Walker, 7402 Randolph St., Forest Park
	Cook	D	Raymond J. Welsh, Jr., 911 N. Oak Park Ave., Oak Park
5	Cook	R	Richard L. LoDestro, 1940 N. 75th Ct., Elmwood Park
	Cook	R	William D. Walsh, 801 N. Kensington Ave., LaGrange Park
	Cook	D	Leo J. Bartoline, 2902 Elder Lane, Franklin Park
6	Cook	R	John W. Carroll, 26 S. Merrill Ave., Park Ridge
	Cook	R	Arthur E. Simmons, 8029 Lowell Ave., Skokie
	Cook	D	Bernard M. Peskin, 326 Southgate Drive, Northbrook
7	Cook	R	Frances L. Dawson, 2609 Lincoln St., Evanston
	Cook	R	Alan R. Johnston, 206 Cumberland Ave., Kenilworth
	Cook	D	Robert Marks, 420 Ashland Ave., Evanston
8	Cook	R	Michael F. Zlatnik, 6300 N. Sheridan Rd., Chicago
	Cook	D	Esther Saperstein, 6538 N. Ashland Ave., Chicago
	Cook	D	Paul F. Elward, 1532 W. Chase Ave., Chicago
9	Cook	R	William E. Pollack, 3829 North Seelye Ave., Chicago
	Cook	R	Kenneth E. Moberley, 5118 N. Winchester Ave., Chicago
	Cook	D	Nicholas Zagone, 2265 W. Giddings, Chicago
10	Cook	R	Albert W. Hachmeister, 423 W. Barry Ave., Chicago
	Cook	D	John W. Merlo, 433 W. Diversay Parkway, Chicago
	Cook	D	Frank Lyman, 500 N. Marine Dr., Chicago
11	Cook	R	Paul J. Randolph, 850 N. De Witt Place, Chicago
	Cook	D	Edward W. Wolbank, 619 N. State St., Chicago

Dist.	County	Party	Name and Address	Dist.	County	Party	Name and Address
12	Cook	R	Charles O. Miller, 2493 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago	35	Kane	R	Allan L. "Al" Schoeberlein, 1543 Downer Pl., Aurora
	Cook	D	Kenneth W. Course, 3413 W. Armitage Ave., Chicago		Kane	R	J. Lisle Laufer, Hampshire
	Cook	D	La Salle J. De Michaels, 2851 W. Fletcher St., Chicago		Kane	D	John Jerome (Jack) Hill, 741 Sheridan St., Aurora
13	Cook	R	Elroy C. Sandquist, 2762 W. Wilson Ave., Chicago	36	DuPage	R	John N. Erlenborn, 429 Prairie Ave., Elmhurst
	Cook	D	James P. Loukas, 2509 W. Gunnison St., Chicago		DuPage	R	Lewis V. Morgan, Jr., 1126 E. Wakeman Ave., Wheaton
	Cook	D	Nathan J. Kaplan, 6049 N. Bernard St., Chicago		DuPage	D	William A. Redmond, 250 Tioga St., Bensenville
14	Cook	R	Oscar Hansen, 4507 N. Long Ave., Chicago	37	Will	R	Warren L. Wood, 736 Bartlett Ave., Plainfield
	Cook	R	Helmut W. Stolle, 6111 N. Northwest Highway, Chicago		Will	R	Meade Baltz, 600 Buell Ave., Joliet
	Cook	D	Chester P. Majewski, 39006 N. Oketo Ave., Chicago		Will	D	Francis J. Loughran, 1220 Sterling Ave., Joliet
15	Cook	R	Peter J. Miller, 1932 N. Kedvale Ave., Chicago	38	LaSalle	R	Carl W. Soderstrom, 1001 Riverside Ave., Streator
	Cook	D	Chester R. Wiktorski, Jr., 5300 West Drummond Place, Chicago		LaSalle	R	Harland D. Warren, 722 Green St., Ottawa
	Cook	D	John F. Leon, 1811 North Tripp Ave., Chicago		LaSalle	D	Joseph P. Stremiau, R.F.D. No. 2, Mendota
16	Cook	R	Bernard McDevitt, 21 N. Mason Ave., Chicago	39	Rock Island	R	Thomas F. Railsback, 1834 - 14th St., Moline
	Cook	D	Robert F. McPartlin, 5100 W. Adams St., Chicago		Rock Island	R	Robert "Bob" Austin, 1218 - 20th Ave., East Moline
	Cook	D	Peter M. Callan, 5567 W. Gladys Ave., Chicago		Rock Island	D	Paul E. Rink, 1549 - 24th St., Rock Island
17	Cook	R	Peter C. Granata, 1025 S. May St., Chicago		Lee Henry	R	Charles K. Willett, 218 Brinton Ave., Dixon
	Cook	D	Sam Romano, 736 S. Claremont Ave., Chicago		Bureau	R	W. K. (Kenny) Davidson, 111½ E. Second St., Kewanee
	Cook	D	Andrew A. Euzzino, 917 S. Blue Island Ave., Chicago	41	Kankakee	D	Tobias (Toby) Barry, 304 Central Ave., Ladd
18	Cook	R	Louis F. Capuzi, 710 N. Rockwell St., Chicago		Livingston	R	Edward McBroom, 1190 S. 8th Ave., Kankakee
	Cook	D	John P. Touhy, 3241 W. Washington Blvd., Chicago		Ford	R	Carl T. Hunsicker, 905 N. Main St., Pontiac
	Cook	D	Lawrence DiPrima, 3441 W. Ohio St., Chicago	42	McLean	D	Joe W. Russell, 22 E. Chestnut St., Piper City
19	Cook	R	Louis Janczak, 1315 N. Bosworth Ave., Chicago		Woodford	R	Ben S. Rhodes, 1211 Broadway, Normal
	Cook	D	Richard A. Napolitano, 1057 N. Sacramento Ave., Chicago		McLean	R	Dean McCully, Minonk
	Cook	D	Edward J. Shaw, 2208 W. Walton, Chicago	43	Peoria	D	J. W. "Bill" Scott, 730 Towanda St., Bloomington
20	Cook	R	William H. Robinson, 2851 S. South Parkway, Chicago		Peoria	R	Robert L. Burhans, 5508 Montclair Ave., Peoria
	Cook	D	Corneal A. Davis, 3223 S. Calumet Ave., Chicago		Peoria	D	John C. Parkhurst, 1607 W. Margaret, Peoria
	Cook	D	James Y. Carter, 601 E. 32nd St., Chicago	44	Champaign	R	James D. Carrigan, 156 E. South Gate Rd., Peoria
21	Cook	R	J. Horace Gardner, 6014 S. Indiana Ave., Chicago		Champaign	R	Charles W. Clabaugh, 901 W. Daniel, Champaign
	Cook	D	Cecil A. Partee, 5836 South Michigan Ave., Chicago		Champaign	R	Dr. Edwin E. Dale, 307 Elmwood Road, Champaign
	Cook	D	Kenneth E. Wilson, 4524 S. South Park Ave., Chicago	45	Champaign	D	Leo Pfeffer, Seymour
22	Cook	R	Elwood Graham, 6711 S. Langley Ave., Chicago		Vermilion	R	Clarence G. Hall, 212 N. Sandusky St., Catlin
	Cook	D	Charles F. Armstrong, 6942 S. Prairie Ave., Chicago		Vermilion	R	Charles M. (Chuck) Campbell, 102 N. Logan Ave., Danville
	Cook	D	Lycurgus Conner, 4805 S. Champlain Ave., Chicago	46	Tazewell	D	Robert (Bob) Craig, Indianola
23	Cook	R	Noble W. Lee, 5541 S. Woodlawn Ave., Chicago		Cass	R	Ray C. Heiple II, 207 E. Jefferson St., Washington
	Cook	D	Abner J. Mikva, 5545 S. Kenwood Ave., Chicago		Pekin	D	C. R. (Butch) Ratcliffe, 1407 Jefferson St., Beardstown
	Cook	D	Robert E. Mann, 5339 S. Harper Ave., Chicago	47	Macon	R	George L. Saal, 910 Washington St., Pekin
24	Cook	R	John J. Donovan, 148 W. 112th Pl., Chicago		Logan	R	George P. Johns, 156 Oakdale Boulevard, Decatur
	Cook	D	Henry M. Lenard, 8111 S. Colfax Ave., Chicago		Sangamon	D	Herman L. Dammerman, 321 Delaven St., Lincoln
25	Cook	D	Nick Svalina, 10723 S. Ave. F., Chicago	48	Sangamon	R	John W. Alsop, 1712 N. Church St., Decatur
	Cook	R	Edward Schneider, 8638 S. Euclid Ave., Chicago		Sangamon	R	George P. Coutrakon, 1733 S. 5th St., Springfield
	Cook	D	John G. Ryan, 1526 E. 83rd Place, Chicago		Sangamon	R	G. William Horsley, 1402 W. Lake Drive, Springfield
26	Cook	D	Peter J. Whalen, 8029 S. Vincennes Ave., Chicago	49	Morgan	D	Allen T. Lucas, 2216 Whittier Ave., Springfield
	Cook	R	George F. Stastny, 10444 S. Hamlin Ave., Chicago		Adams	R	Harris Rowe, 1152 W. State St., Jacksonville
	Cook	R	Raymond J. Kahoun, 7950 S. Morgan St., Chicago		Calhoun	R	H. B. Ihnen, 330 East Avenue, Quincy
27	Cook	D	John P. Downes, 8831 S. Paulina St., Chicago	50	Henderson	D	Carl H. Wittmond, Brussels
	Cook	R	Walter "Babe" McAvoy, 6039 S. California Ave., Chicago		Knox	R	Clarence E. Neff, Stronghurst
	Cook	D	Michael H. McDermott, 6706 S. Wood St., Chicago		Brown	R	Raymond E. (Ray) Anderson, 1606 N. Kellogg St., Galesburg
	Cook	D	Michael E. Hannigan, 6646 S. Honore St., Chicago	51	Clark	D	Dan Teehey, 400 S. W. Cross, Mt. Sterling
28	Cook	R	Michael A. Ruddy, 1700 W. Garfield Blvd., Chicago		Douglas	R	John W. Lewis, Jr., R. R. No. 2, Marshall
	Cook	D	Frank J. Smith, 4549 S. Emerald Ave., Chicago		Cumberland	R	Edward M. Finfgeld, 326 Washington St., Arcola
29	Cook	D	John G. Fary, 3600 S. Damen Ave., Chicago	52	Montgomery	D	Dave Glenn, 311 Cumberland St., Greenup
	Cook	R	John F. Wall, 2874 S. Hillock, Chicago		Montgomery	R	Orval W. Hittmeier, R. R. No. 2, Litchfield
	Cook	D	Matt Ropa, 1710 W. 21st St., Chicago		Christian	D	Charles Ed Schaefer, 208 E. Union St., Nakomis
30	Cook	D	John M. Vitek, 2953 S. Union Ave., Chicago	53	Madison	R	Stuart J. Traynor, 302 E. Market St., Taylorville
	Cook	R	Hector A. Brouillet, 3532 S. California Ave., Chicago		Madison	D	Ralph T. Smith, No. 1 Signal Dr., Alton
	Cook	D	Lillian Piotrowski, 2819 W. 38th Place, Chicago		Madison	D	Leland J. Kennedy, 926 Washington Ave., Alton
31	Lake	R	Frank C. Wolf, 4046 W. 26th St., Chicago	54	St. Clair	R	Lloyd "Curly" Harris, 3233 Aubrey, Granite City
	Lake	R	John H. Conolly, 4305 Grand Ave., Gurnee		St. Clair	R	Ed Lehman, 519 N. 38th St., East St. Louis
32	McHenry	D	W. J. Murphy, R. R. No. 1, Box 607, Antioch		St. Clair	D	Frank Holten, 1114 St. Louis Ave., East St. Louis
	Ogle	D	Jack Bairstow, 224 Ash Street, Waukegan	55	Marion	R	Dan E. Costello, 1528 N. 43rd St., East St. Louis
	McHenry	R	A. B. McConnell, R. R. No. 2, Woodstock		Effingham	R	Fred Branson, 402 Cedar, Centralia
33	Winnebago	R	Paul F. Jones, 502 - 11th St., Rochele		Clinton	D	Miles E. Mills, 602 South 2nd St., Effingham
	Winnebago	D	Albert H. Pearson, Route No. 1 Crystal Lake	56	Lawrence	R	James H. Donnewald, 600 N. Clinton St., Breese
	Winnebago	R	Merle K. Anderson, Durand		Wayne	R	Garrel Burgoon, 1605 State Street, Lawrenceville
	Winnebago	R	Bertil T. Rosander, 615 Oak Knolls Ave., Rockford	57	White	R	Ben C. Blades, 503 N. E. 4th, Fairfield
34	Whiteside	D	William Pierce, 305 Hunter Ave., Rockford		Franklin	D	Robert V. Walsh, 221 W. North St., Grayville
	Carroll	R	George S. Brydia, 105½ W. Third St., Prophetstown		Franklin	R	Wayne Fitzgerald, Sesser
	Carroll	D	Kenneth W. Miller, 1410 Ave. H., Sterling	58	Jefferson	D	Bert Baker, 205 W. 5th St., Benton
	Carroll	D	John K. Morris, R.F.D. No. 1, Chadwick		Union	R	Clyde Lee, 818 Pace Ave., Mount Vernon
	Carroll	D		59	Randolph	D	Gale Williams, 625 N. 15th St., Murphysboro
	Carroll	D			Johnson	D	Clyde L. Choate, Anna
	Carroll	D			Gallatin	D	D. James D. Holloway, 211 W. Broadway, Sparta
	Carroll	D			Johnson	R	C. L. McCormick, Vienna
	Carroll	D			Johnson	R	Joseph R. Hale, Main Street, Ridgeway
	Carroll	D			Johnson	D	Paul Powell, Vienna